

SLINGSHOT



Issue #72

Summer, 2001

FUCK!
FREE GETS 23 YEARS pg 3

Totally Funny Skillshare Cartoon pg 19

SLINGSHOT

ANARCHISTS ♥ ROLLING BLACKOUTS!

By P. Wingnut

As California faces a summer of rolling blackouts, the anarchist strategy around the alleged "energy crisis" is clear: we like rolling blackouts! The more the better! The longer the better! How about permanent blackouts!

Just think for a moment about what a blackout really means for community, for democracy, for decentralization, against corporations and capitalism, and for the earth. Most of the things hurting the world need the electricity grid to function:

- Television Stations
- Police, armies and prisons
- The auto traffic system
- Security cameras and surveillance
- Factory Farming and toxic industries
- Chainstores and consumer society
- ATM machines and credit cards

Defend the Mattole

Ancient trees felled by corporate greed

By Karen Pickett

The struggle to save ancient trees located in the Mattole watershed in Humboldt County — the second largest intact stand of lowland old growth Douglas Fir forest in California — is heating up this summer, and action is needed now to save this treasure. Although forest defenders and residents of the Mattole River basin were successful over the winter in gaining a significant reprieve for the old growth forest through citizen lawsuits and courageous direct action, this spring saw the re-activation of logging plans, along with legal and physical assaults on the forest defenders and their blockades deep in the forest.

Pacific Lumber (PL), which already logged most of the old growth redwoods in Headwaters Forest, began cutting trees in early May, and ancient tress are falling as you read this article.

This exceptionally sensitive ecosystem is home to Coho salmon and steelhead trout, river otters, northern goshawks, peregrine falcons, Pacific fishers, and a small rural community



and prairie can receive as much as 100 inches of rain annually.

The forests of the Mattole's Rainbow Ridge hold together the soil in what is likely the most seismically active area in California. Situated at the meeting of three tectonic plates, the area experiences frequent earthquakes and

timber harvest. Clear-cut logging leaves the land exposed to the full force of torrential rains, adding to already high background rates of erosion. Raw landslide scars caused by logging in the 1980s continue to bleed sediment into downstream tributaries, which historically supported healthy fisheries. Some

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- Television Stations
- Police, armies and prisons
- The auto traffic system
- Security cameras and surveillance
- Factory Farming and toxic industries
- Chainstores and consumer society
- ATM machines and credit cards
- Global corporate computer networks

In contrast, imagine what still works great without a single, fossil fuel-powered watt:

- You can still talk to a friend
- You can do creative stuff: play guitar, paint a picture, dig in the garden
- You can ride your bike or go for a walk
- You and your friends can organize a collective to provide for the necessities of life
- You can make love with no interruptions from the phone
- You can enjoy the stillness after the sun goes down when orange/purple light lingers in the west, and not worry about missing your show on TV or all the work from the office you were going to go through under a bare light bulb, late into the night.

Without the electricity grid, there is immediately more freedom, more face-to-face community and direct democracy, and more harmony with nature. Bikes whiz around SUVs caught in a failed-traffic-light gridlock. Acoustic music rings out from candle-lit communal housing while yuppies can't get

When complex, national systems like the power grid fail, people get the chance to see that they can function just fine with the simple things in life.

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This exceptionally sensitive ecosystem is home to Coho salmon and steelhead trout, river otters, northern goshawks, peregrine falcons, Pacific fishers, and a small rural community committed to preserving it. Its pristine, remote, very steep and rugged mix of forest



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The forests of the Mattole's Rainbow Ridge hold together the soil in what is likely the most seismically active area in California. Situated at the meeting of three tectonic plates, the area experiences frequent earthquakes and monsoon-like downpours, making it exceptionally vulnerable to the impacts of

timber harvest. Clear-cut logging leaves the land exposed to the full force of torrential rains, adding to already high background rates of erosion. Raw landslide scars caused by logging in the 1980s continue to bleed sediment into downstream tributaries, which historically supported healthy fisheries. Some

Continued on page 18

UPCOMING BATTLE OF WASHINGTON: VICTORY IMPOSSIBLE FOR IMF/WORLD BANK

By PB Floyd

Apparently, whoever schedules and plans meetings for the IMF and the World Bank just doesn't get it.

In the wake of a rising tide of international protest against the globalization of capitalism—and capitalism itself—which has disrupted meetings of numerous world bodies, the IMF/World Bank is scheduled to meet in Washington DC from September 28 - October 4.

Not surprisingly, thousands of anti-capitalists, anarchists, environmental militants and radicals, as well as members of the labor movement, students and the rest of civil society, are expected to converge on Washington DC during that period to protest, challenge, disrupt, and potentially crush the global Joint Annual General Meeting. The confrontation could end up being the largest and most militant anti-capitalist showdown Washington has ever seen. Already, hundreds

of affinity groups are forming, plans of attack are being drawn up, buildings cased, and gas masks stockpiled.

Just in the past couple of months, there have been numerous indications that the global anti-capitalist movement is on the move, and is clarifying its goals — moving beyond mere "anti-globalization" to "anti-capitalist." Washington DC has already been declared the "Anti-Capitalist Convergence."

In April, Quebec was rocked by days of militant protests against the Summit of the Americas. The courage of the protesters, and the violence of the police, was unlike anything seen in North America in decades. The coalition that organized the resistance was explicitly anti-capitalist, and embraced a diversity of tactics, declaring that "CLAC adopts a confrontational attitude and rejects reformist alternatives such as lobbying which cannot have a major impact on anti-democratic processes."

Nuclear Missile Defense: Visions of a Global Police State

By The Cell

On May 1st, as people around the world celebrated International Worker's Day and the coming of spring, George W. Bush, speaking at the National Defense University in Washington, conducted a ceremonial opening of a different

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When complex, national systems like the power grid fail, people get the chance to see that they can function just fine with the simple things in life.

through to their stock brokers on their cell phones or get food from High Tech Burritos™ and Whole Foods™.

Bureaucracy, hierarchy and authority all require the centralized, fossil-fueled power grid, but direct democracy, face to face voluntary organization, mutual aid and small, local collectives all function great without the electricity grid. If folks decide it's necessary, bits of electricity can be generated locally for local use with solar or wind power.

The hype surrounding the "energy crisis" is overwhelming, but it tells you the rulers are worried.. And that's pretty satisfying, because they don't often get worried, or at least they don't often admit it. When the lights go out, the rulers lose control. Worse yet, they become irrelevant. If there's no electrical grid, they can't watch and manage you, and you don't "need" them. In fact,

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In May, the IMF/World Bank decided to cancel a scheduled global meeting in Barcelona, Spain, rather than risk humiliation and defeat at the hands of hundreds of thousands of militant Europeans who vowed to shut down the meetings, if not the entire city.

And earlier in the Spring, the WTO was forced to select the tiny Persian Gulf nation of Qatar for their first global meeting since their disastrous defeat in Seattle in 1999. No other country would take the WTO, knowing the chaos that would accompany a meeting, so trade ministers will have to fly to the equivalent of the dark side of the moon, where they'll have to stay on cruise ships because Qatar's hotel facilities are too small to accommodate the meeting.

Clearly, global capitalist meeting planners are in a pickle and running scared. The last

Continued on page 18

Nuclear Missile Defense: Visions of a Global Police State

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On May 1st, as people around the world celebrated International Worker's Day and the coming of spring, George W. Bush, speaking at the National Defense University in Washington, conducted a ceremonial opening of a different sort of celebration. It was to be a celebration of capitalist triumph, of the exercise of power and the expansion of dominion. After wistfully reminiscing about the Cold War and the ultimate triumph of capitalism over the Soviet Union, Bush reassured his audience that the party was not over. Even today there are tyrants out there, "tyrants gripped by an implacable hatred of the United States of America", tyrants who, like their Soviet predecessors, "hate democracy, freedom and individual liberty".

The centerpiece of this new celebration was to be the development of a military system termed *national missile defense*, which was to be achieved by funneling billions of dollars to corporations of the US military-industrial complex—the beacons and bottom-line guarantors of freedom and democracy. The

Continued on page 14

SLINGSHOT

Amidst fields of glitter and blood, Slingshot Issue 72 has emerged. *Slingshot* is a quarterly radical independent newspaper harking from the East Bay since 1988. Actually, although the Long Haul is bathed in glitter, the blood we only saw on the internet in pictures from the protests against the EU meeting in Gothenburg, Sweden. This was one of those exciting layouts when every so often somebody would check some website and find all these totally inspiring pictures of protesters digging up streets, throwing bricks at cops, and burning lawn furniture. We like British Prime Minister Tony Blair's astute description of the "anarchists' traveling circus that goes from summit to summit with the sole purpose of causing as much mayhem as possible."

Well, we all know there is a beautiful purpose behind the mayhem: destroying capitalism! As noted in the article about the October IMF/World Bank meeting in DC, protests have made the natural leap from being anti-globalization to being explicitly anti-capitalist. This is a summer action issue, with articles on DC, Qatar, and a section on caring for your mental and physical health while at actions. And we've provided some excellent travel (or bathroom) reading: the Cell's brilliant analysis of capital's evil twin in the plot of global domination: the military. (By the way, if you happen to be reading the paper during a temporary or permanent blackout, look for secret messages only visible by candle light!)

We wish you excellent adventures whether you don't glitter and run off to join the anarchist circus, or stay at home and freak out your neighbors with your radical opinions. In any case, remember: the most freakish thing in this rabid, homogenized society is *creative thought*.

Slingshot Volunteer Meeting

People interested in working on Slingshot can hang out with us on September 16 at 4 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below).

Huge stacks of Slingshot Organizers!!



organizer
Update

The 2002 Slingshot Organizer will be available October 15!! Prices as usual will be \$5/1 copy; \$16/4 copies; \$30/8 copies. Price includes postage. Bookstores: Prepaid orders will receive BIG discounts. Call Us! (We need to raise \$20,000 to pay for this shit! Whoa!) To add groups to the radical contact list in organizer, please send info by July 31. Contacts must include phone number! Send orders to address in Slingshot Box.

Requests 4
Support

A new section with short listings of requests for support. Send items to our address on page 2 for next issue.

Bay Area Action Medics

Interested in performing first-aid at actions and protests? Want protest-specific medical

Letters

send us your wildest
dreams, oh reader...

end my subscription, I'm OUTTA HERE

Dear Slingshot:

Just received issue #71, which I thoroughly enjoyed. I was particularly glad to see a plea for community support of anarchist book sources, which have been major providers of free literature to prisoners for years. Without support, I fear that many of these programs will cease to exist, thereby cutting prisoners off from an important tool in changing their lives through enlightenment. Even Books to Prisoners-Seattle, the oldest such program, is now threatened.

Issue #71 is my last issue, but I am not seeking to extend my subscription. I'm happy to say that I'll be released [from prison] June 13, and will pick up Slingshot at the Autonomous Zone in Chicago from now on. I do want to extend my thanks for your excellent paper over the years. You'll hear

from me in the future, I guarantee it—only not from here. Who knows, I may even show up at Long Haul someday to do some volunteering. Support those who support ya!

You may delete me now — I'm read for it. Just promise that it won't be painful!

Well, I guess that's about it from here. Take care. And may the tear gas always blow back at the oppressor's face instead of yours.

— Ron Campbell, Menard, II

Irony Defined

Dear Editor,

The article entitled "Invisible Hands" by The Cell presented an interesting outlook on globalization and institutionalization, but a different type of institutionalization is occurring in the state of California. It's the buildup of prison institutions, the typical gradual manner of an acceptable genocide, the imprisoning of a poor people whose only crime initially was to farm a land that belonged to California's ruling class.

It is difficult while being housed in Corcoran State Prison not to acknowledge that eighty percent of the guards here at Corcoran in the infamous S.H.U. units are Hispanics and eighty percent of the inmates in the S.H.U. units are also Hispanic. What's wrong with this picture? Could it be that the state's administration is puppeteering one race to abuse and control their own? The sad thing is that these ignorant guards, most of whom have only a high school education, don't know that what they're doing is morally wrong. Instead they're blinded with bribery of the illusion of social status and a pocket full of beer money, like Pancho from *The Cisco Kid*. What government would not want to own an institution



Fuck The Ideal,
JUST eat GOOD

Dear Tracy,

I just finished reading your article in issue #71 of Slingshot. First off, I have to say that it was my first time reading Slingshot. Someone threw it on my desk at work, I think by accident but I took it home to read it and boy did I read it!! Anyway,

capitalism! As noted in the article about the October IMF/World Bank meeting in DC, protests have made the natural leap from being anti-globalization to being explicitly anti-capitalist. This is a summer action issue, with articles on DC, Qatar, and a section on caring for your mental and physical health while at actions. And we've provided some excellent travel (or bathroom) reading: the Cell's brilliant analysis of capital's evil twin in the plot of global domination: the military. (By the way, if you happen to be reading the paper during a temporary or *permanent* blackout, look for secret messages only visible by candle light!)

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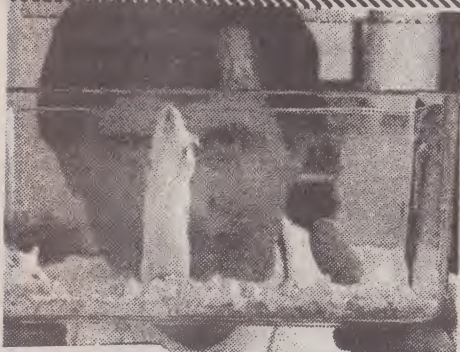
Article Deadline and Next Issue Date

Submit your articles for Issue 73 by October 18, 2001. We expect the issue out on November 2.

Volume 1, Number 72 Circulation 10,000
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Bay Area Action Medics

Interested in performing first-aid at actions and protests? Want protest-specific medical training? Forming Medic affinity, and training group. Contact us at: liz@black-rose.com, or tanyapixie@yahoo.com

Behind the Wire

I am currently in the process of writing a book entitled Behind the Wire which is an activist oriented work aimed at the prison crisis that grips society. I am seeking any statistics or related information concerning our criminal justice system. Please submit any personal type of experience that you have had with the "justice" system, relevant media articles, titles of books with good info, etc. Deadline is August 31, 2001. Write: James Meier #634089, 3060 F.M. 3514, Beaumont, TX 77705.

Warchest Subsistence Program

Please contribute money to the Anarchist Black Cross' Warchest Subsistence Program which provides assistance to political prisoners and prisoners of war. The Kent, OH ABC is also raising money for the Russell Maroon Shoats postage fund. Russell is a New Afrikan POW. Send \$ to Kent ABC, PO Box 942, Kent, OH 44240.

CORE INFOSHOP
OPENS IN

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The ruling class--- Gray Davis and his degenerates--- don't even have to worry about an uprising because if one Mexican in here talks revolution, he's thrown in solitary seclusion, denied human contact and basic human senses, and then accused of gang membership. Human



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I can't even stress enough how fucking true it is, everything you wrote. I myself was never very content with my physical appearance, always thought I was a little chubby or chunky even. I look back at old pictures and laugh at my previous thoughts of me having been a fat girl. I was merely a teenager that had not completely formed and am still growing now.. and I'm 20. It is really disgusting though to think about the root of our lack of confidence and our insecurities, they are so deviously created by the media, by commercials, by woman's and men's magazines, providing us the with the "ideal" image of a women- a completely flat and toned stomach, 5'9 structure and voluptuous breasts. More than half the time, we don't even realize the crap that we are being fed but its is there, to say the least.

Anyway, it was the beginning of my second year in college when for some odd reason, (I'm not sure what, but thank God for it!!) I just stopped caring about my "physical" appearance and looking the way I was "supposed" to look. I constantly had family pressure from my mother and brother mostly due to the horrible fact that they see "skinny" as being a key defining character of beautiful. Well, this is the first year where my parents and family were no longer in my hair (I was living on my own) and I finally decided eating things I wanted, doing things I wanted. Now I don't mean eating crap, in fact, it was the complete opposite.

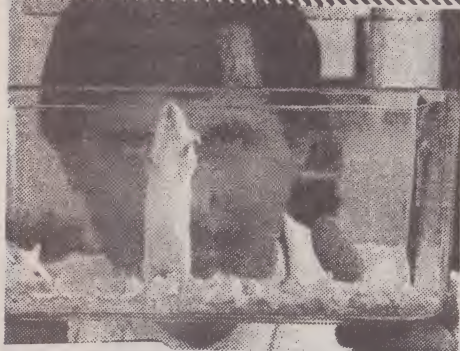
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SLINGSHOT Circulation Information

Slingshot is free in the Bay Area and is available at Long Haul and Bound Together Books (1369 Haight Street in SF), plus lots of other places. Contact us if you want to distribute Slingshot for free in the Bay Area.

Subscriptions to Slingshot are \$1 per issue (bulk mail pre-paid) or \$2 for First Class Mail after the issue comes out. International is \$2.50 per issue. Back issues are also available.

Bulk copies are available for 50 cents per issue for 6 or more copies, \$1 international.

If you are a subscriber and your mailing label reads "last issue: 72" this is your last issue. Send \$ or a card or you'll be removed from the list. Prisoners get a year free, renewed each year if you write us to say you're still locked up. Financial hardship subscription extensions for non-prisoners will be considered—send us a card or something. We exchange with other publications and political groups on request. Please let us know if you move. Please send \$\$.

anyapixie@yahoo.com

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CORE INFOSHOP OPENS IN FLORIDA

The Center Of Radical Empowerment (CORE) infoshop opened in St. Petersburg, Florida May 1. Its mission is to empower individuals to challenge oppressive social structures and build a sustainable community based on self-determination, mutual aid, voluntary cooperation, and respect for all life. The infoshop provides:

- Progressive lending library.
- Workshops, study groups, and speakers.
- Accessible artistic and cultural events.
- Meeting space and resources for grassroots community organizing.
- Independent Media Center.
- Radical literature and music distribution.

Please send a subscription to your magazine or zine for the lending library and donate: books, pamphlets, videos, T-shirts, stickers, posters, buttons, postcards, books, pamphlets, etc. Send 'em to: 1615 16th St. S. St. Petersburg, FL 33705, 727 821 CORE, www.geocities.com/thecorecenter.

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rights therefore are nonexistent in these institutions where prisoners are allowed out of their cells two days a year for forty-five minutes at a time.

The Barrio Defense Committee has graciously assisted in our struggle against inhumane conditions by writing letters on our behalf to the warden George Ortiz, the acting director Steven Cambra and Governor Gray Davis. We have not, however, received any relief to our abuses.

I'll tell you what's ironic---we're Mexican inmates, we're being abused by Mexican guards who are being directed by a Mexican warden, we're being defended by Mexican lawyers in a state founded by a Mexican, but all the while the governor (a white man) sits in his mansion drinking margaritas, laughing all the way to the bank. They say we Hispanics have sixty percent of the vote in California. I say if we don't politicize ourselves, it won't be long before we're extinct. Sincerely, Cesar Francisco Villa, K-64212

3BOZ-211, PO Box 3466, Corcoran CA 93212

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One afternoon, I took a piece of frozen chicken out (that my Mom so kindly bought for me), while I was touching its skin and flesh that so obviously cried out death, I became sickened at my actions. I was eating a fucking chicken, another animal who just a little bit ago had been running around somewhere (actually, it was probably stuck in some 4x4 "room" waiting for it's pleasant death.) Anyway, my point is, I soon after turned vegetarian and began taking an interest in what my body was consuming. I would stop to think about my health instead of what it would do to me physically and on the outside. Not surprisingly, I actually lost weight. Not cause I was starving myself, (I enjoy food way too much) but because I was living a healthy lifestyle. I was eating plenty of vegetables, proteins, fruits and sure, had my sweets here and there but also did a lot of walking.

My point is, I didn't strive to loose weight or look good, I just gave up on looking the way I was "supposed" to and started doing something for myself, something POSITIVE. So, I just wanted to let you know that your article really hit home for me. I'm very glad I had a chance to read it and I look forward to more of yours and other's literature from Slingshot.

Thanks much, Ghazal Sheei

FREE SENTENCED TO 23 YEARS



By Free & Critter Legal Defense Committee

Jeff "Free" Luers was sentenced June 11 to nearly 23 years on 11 charges ranging from Arson I to Attempted Criminal Mischief. The charges stemmed from two incidents last year in Eugene, Oregon. Free admitted to criminal mischief regarding a truck fire at Romania Chevrolet last summer.

At the sentencing he read a statement taking responsibility for the Romania fire, and emphasizing the care he took to ensure no one

that my actions, whether or not you believe them to be misguided, stem from the love I have in my heart."

The judge responded by saying that he "never doubted Free's sincerity". He stated that Free's political beliefs would not influence the sentencing, and that he would be sentenced "solely on the severity of the crimes". Yet Free received a sentence harsher than that of many murderers and rapists.

We are not so naive as to say we're surprised by the sentence, but it nevertheless comes as a shock. An analogy I shared with Free on the phone yesterday is that we've had someone with a clenched fist standing in front of us for a year saying "I'm going to punch you." Even though we were expecting it, it still took our breath away. The judge made many comments during the trial that indicated he'd already decided the outcome. He was often seen completely ignoring the testimony, typing on his laptop instead of listening. An appeal is already underway.

Throughout the past year, Free was forced to remain silent about his actions at Romania Chevrolet, due to the fact that the State insisted on linking the two incidents, Romania and Tyree Oil Company, together. The judge denied many motions to separate the two. Free has stated and maintains that he had no involvement in the attempted arson at Tyree Oil.

The Legal Defense Committee asks for your continuing support of Free and Critter and other Prisoners of War. Make no mistake, a war is being waged on the earth and all its creatures. Do not participate in the State's campaign to marginalize and incapacitate those who take radical action in defense of the earth. Failure to support our political prisoners is tantamount to sanctioning repression by the State.

For now, letters can be mailed to both Free



BEIRUT IN CINCINNATI

By Jackie Sokolinsky

In April, Cincinnati, OH turned into a battlefield as the African-American community united against the deadly racism of city police. No one was left untouched; by the second week of the conflict, in the midst of a declared state of emergency, African-American members were leaving the Cincinnati police and fire-fighter's unions, citing racism.

The transformation of Cincinnati into "Beirut", as Cincinnati Mayor Charles Luken termed it, began April 7, 2001, when police officer Steven Roach shot and killed Timothy Thomas. It was the fifth police killing of a black male in Cincinnati in only seven months. Thomas's family and protesters mobilized by African-American organizations packed the city council meeting held two days later, demanding official accountability for the murder. (At that time Roach was on a one week paid administrative leave.)

bag bullets, firing at point-blank range into crowds. The police station was only slightly smashed, alas.

In the next few days African-American youth, who suffer most from racial profiling and other forms of police surveillance and harassment, responded with growing militance. Solidarity was informal but very strong, with protesters acting quickly and effectively to unarrest many people. Their mobility, frequently breaking-up into a lot of different directions, helped prevent arrests as well. Some people took advantage of the cover of the crowds and the general atmosphere to loot shops; a pawn shop was completely emptied, smashed and burned. A few people assaulted drivers, but these incidents seem to have been stopped by onlookers.

Violence escalated very rapidly, as police brutality on the street was reinforced by Mayor Charles Luken's declared state of emergency. From April 12 to 16, an 8 p.m. to 6



By Free & Critter Legal Defense Committee

Jeff "Free" Luers was sentenced June 11 to nearly 23 years on 11 charges ranging from Arson I to Attempted Criminal Mischief. The charges stemmed from two incidents last year in Eugene, Oregon. Free admitted to criminal mischief regarding a truck fire at Romania Chevrolet last summer.

At the sentencing he read a statement taking responsibility for the Romania fire, and emphasizing the care he took to ensure no one would be injured. "It cannot be said that I am unfeeling or uncaring. My heart is filled with love and compassion. I fight to protect life ... all life. Not to take it. It's not an exaggeration to say that we're experiencing a period of extinction equal to that of the dinosaurs. 40,000 species go extinct each year, yet we continue to pollute and exploit the natural world.... I will not ask this court to grant me leniency. All I ask is that you believe the sincerity of my words, and that you believe

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For now, letters can be mailed to both Free and Critter c/o the Legal Defense Committee at PO Box 50263, Eugene, OR 97404. Free's new address will soon be available. Checks and money orders to assist with Free's appeal can still be sent to FCLDF, c/o OUR Credit Union, PO Box 11192, Eugene, OR 97440. www.efn.org/~eugpeace/freecritter.

Thanks to all our steadfast supporters. Your help has been inspiring and irreplaceable.

Howl for Free and Critter. Howl for all political prisoners. They will hear you.

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After the unsuccessful meeting, protesters reconvened at the District 1 police station and then proceeded on a two-hour march through the Over-the-Rhine and West End neighborhoods, where more people joined the march. The route ended back at the police station, where about 150 of the 800 demonstrators set up camp. Police sprayed teargas and other chemical weapons and fired approximately 50 rounds of rubber and bean-

bag bullets, firing at point-blank range into crowds. The police station was only slightly smashed, alas.

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Violence escalated very rapidly, as police brutality on the street was reinforced by Mayor Charles Luken's declared state of emergency. From April 12 to 16, an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew imposed on Cincinnati and two neighboring cities enabled police to sweep the city making mass arrests, averaging 200 a night. In addition to police violence against protesters in custody, some people are reported to have been "disappeared," police denying to family and friends of arrested individuals that they have them in custody.

Although police targeted a few isolated groups who "looked like anarchists," the ferocity of police violence following the murder of Timothy Thomas was due to the close-to-the-bone nature of the conflict, over racism in the Cincinnati police force. Mayor Luken compared conditions in Cincinnati to Beirut; NAACP president Kweisi Mfume, in one of his more likable moments, compared them to Oakland.

Drive-by shootings by police officers occurred throughout the state of emergency, though only one made the Cincinnati papers. Luken had pledged to keep police away from the New Prospect Baptist Church, where on April 14 the funeral of Timothy Thomas was held, attended by hundreds, including African-American leaders. Cincinnati officials, and Ohio

INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER IN FREE SPEECH BATTLE

By Seattle IMC (with SS editing)

During the protests in Quebec City, while tens of thousands demonstrated against the FTAA, the Independent Media Center in Seattle was served with a sealed court order by two FBI agents and an agent of the US Secret Service ordering them to turn over "all user connections logs" for a 48-hour period

Application or Order, or the existence of this investigation, unless or until ordered by this court." Such a prior restraint on a media organization goes to the heart of the First Amendment. This order created an absurd circumstance in which IMC volunteers, in order to avoid contempt of Court, made a frantic attempt to suppress articles and information

contained a non-working IP address, rather than an address assigned to any of the IMC sites. IMC volunteers nevertheless were able to identify two articles posted to the Montreal IMC which partially matched the agents' incomplete description. These articles, posted first in French and then in English translations, contain sections of documents purportedly stolen from a Quebec City police car during Friday night anti-FTAA demonstrations. The documents detail police strategies for hindering protesters' mass action. It does not appear that any materials were posted to any IMC site containing such travel plans.

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Drive-by shootings by police officers occurred throughout the state of emergency, though only one made the Cincinnati papers. Luken had pledged to keep police away from the New Prospect Baptist Church, where on April 14 the funeral of Timothy Thomas was held, attended by hundreds, including African-American leaders, Cincinnati officials and Ohio Gov. Bob Taft. But half an hour after the funeral, as the last attendees were quietly dispersing, six SWAT team members drove by and fired a shotgun into a small group at close range, injuring two adults and two children. Christine Jones, hit twice in the back, was hospitalized for a cracked rib and injuries to the lung and spleen. The shotgun was loaded with the bean-bag bullets which the press widely accepts as virtually harmless.

The incident had a dozen witnesses and, occurring at an assembly of the country's most notable black leaders, embarrassed the government. An FBI investigation into the "cause" of the incident was immediately ordered. Without benefit of the FBI's formidable resources, here's a guess: guns and authority in the hands of a group of paranoid, hostile and stupid racist bullies, allowed to roam freely in a city where chaos seems to provide an excuse for any excess they want.

Continued on page 12

Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network
Write for information and send \$support.
818 SW 3rd Ave PMB #354
Portland OR 97204 USA

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During the protests in Quebec City, while tens of thousands demonstrated against the FTAA, the Independent Media Center in Seattle was served with a sealed court order by two FBI agents and an agent of the US Secret Service ordering them to turn over "all user connections logs" for a 48-hour period. The logs would include individual IP addresses for every person who posted materials to or visited the IMC site during the FTAA protests. The language of the sealed order prevented IMC volunteers from publicizing its terms. The gag order was listed April 27.

While the visit by the agents was not a "raid" (no search warrant was served, no one arrested, no equipment or logs seized) the visit appears intended to chill independent media and discourage association with the IMC. The original order stated that this was part of an "ongoing criminal investigation" into acts that could constitute violations of Canadian law, specifically theft and mischief. IMC legal counsel David Sobel, of the Electronic Privacy Information Center, comments: "As the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized, the First Amendment protects the right to communicate anonymously with the press and for political purposes. An order compelling the disclosure of information identifying an indiscriminately large number of users of a website devoted to political discourse raises very serious constitutional issues."

The sealed court order also directed the IMC not to disclose "the existence of this

Application or Order, or the existence of this investigation, unless or until ordered by this court." Such a prior restraint on a media organization goes to the heart of the First Amendment. This order created an absurd circumstance in which IMC volunteers, in order to avoid contempt of Court, made a frantic attempt to suppress articles and information about the service of the order on their own web site, while mainstream media was able to freely discuss the situation. These efforts were finally abandoned because the unexplained disappearance of articles posted to the IMC site about the supposed "raid" just fanned the flames of rumor.

The order did not specify what acts were being investigated, and the Secret Service agent acknowledged that the IMC itself was not suspected of criminal activity. The agents claimed that their investigation concerned the source of either one or two postings which, they said, had been posted to an IMC newswire early Saturday morning. These posts, according to the agents, contained documents stolen from a Canadian government agency, including classified information related to the travel itinerary of George W. Bush. Bush who was at that time in Quebec City, participating in Summit of the Americas meetings. Agents claimed that the Secret Service was notified of the existence of such posts by a tip from an unnamed major commercial news network.

The agents were unable to provide URL addresses or titles for the postings they described. Additionally, the court order

contained a non-working IP address, rather than an address assigned to any of the IMC sites. IMC volunteers nevertheless were able to identify two articles posted to the Montreal IMC which partially matched the agents' incomplete description. These articles, posted first in French and then in English translations, contain sections of documents purportedly stolen from a Quebec City police car during Friday night anti-FTAA demonstrations. The documents detail police strategies for hindering protesters' mass action. It does not appear that any materials were posted to any IMC site containing Bush travel plans.

The Seattle Independent Media Center was launched in Fall 1999 to provide immediate, authentic, grassroots coverage of protests against the WTO. Just a year and a half later, the IMC network has reached around the world, with dozens of sites scattered across six continents. IMCs are autonomously organized and administered, but share collective organizational principles and certain technological resources. Each IMC's news coverage centers upon its open-publishing newswire, an innovative and democratizing system allowing anyone with access to an Internet connection to become a journalist, reporting on events from his or her own perspective rather than being forced to rely on the narrow range of views presented by corporate-owned mainstream media sources.

Info: Seattle Independent Media Center, 1415 3rd Ave., Seattle, WA, 98101, 206.262.0721, 206.262.9905 fax
<http://seattle.indymedia.org>



Are you feeling a bit sick?

Might be the Qatar Flu

Global protests to greet November 5-9, 2001 global meeting of the World Trade Organization

By P. Wingnut

The World Trade Organization (WTO) will open another round of global trade talks November 5-9 aimed at ensuring permanent and total capitalist domination over all human activities and the environment. The first global WTO meeting since Seattle would seem to present an historic opportunity to turn back the globalization of capitalism and preserve the possibility for freedom and the survival of life itself. So in response to the historic WTO meeting, activists are planning... a symbolic action called "the Qatar Flu".

It seems the WTO organizers are "cheating": they're going to have the WTO meeting in the tiny, closed, Persian Gulf nation of Qatar. No protests (or protesters) allowed.

Recognizing that, unlike Seattle, there is no opportunity to actually disrupt the WTO meeting or meaningfully challenge the relentless march of capitalist global domination, the idea for a "Qatar Flu" is that lots of people will call in sick on November 5 (or somewhere between November 5-9, or during the whole period?) and have demonstrations around the world during those days against global capitalist domination.

The "Qatar Flu" could end up being an opportunity in disguise — doing local actions and teach-ins in every city, village and town on the planet is the kind of local organizing that is desperately needed to turn the energy of Seattle into a real movement with connections to the community. Disruption on a global scale is far more powerful than in just one city.

But it's hard not to realize that by putting



The WTO wants to deny us a platform to object to their grab for world domination. Jokes aside about sending Ruckus Society submarine crews to sink the cruise ships on

which WTO delegates will stay, having the meeting in Qatar is a pretty smart move. A similar motive was behind cancellation of the June IMF/World Bank meeting in Barcelona,

and Canadian efforts to wall off Quebec City to prevent protests. In Quebec, they figured by closing the borders to the US and putting up a fence, they could make Quebec "Qatar-like." The fact that their plan backfired was good luck. But each meeting now has a taller fences, farther from the hotels, and more police.

Because it is so darned inconvenient to have all future global meetings in places like Qatar, there are likely to be more meetings that *can* be disrupted. So in the future when these meetings happen, it is even more important to smash them, because there may be fewer and fewer chances to do such smashing.

And as to the "Qatar Flu", the important part is what you do with your sick day, not that you took one. We're not at the point yet where radicals can declare a "general strike" and have any hope of shutting down business as usual by our absence. But shutting it down by our *presence* (like right in the middle of the fucking freeway, for instance) is another story.

Qatar is WTO's vision for the future

Why did the World Trade Organization chose to hold its first global meetings since the horrendous debacle in Seattle in the tiny, Persian Gulf nation of Qatar? And what does this decision tell us about the kind of future the WTO envisions for the world? The WTO meeting, which may launch a new round of trade talks, is set for Doha, the capital of Qatar, from November 5-9.

- The Government does not allow political parties or membership in international professional organizations critical of the Government or of any other Arab government

- Private social, sports, trade, professional, and cultural societies must be registered with the Government. Security forces monitor the activities of such groups.

Trade officials say Qatar has promised to allow all WTO critics

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But its hard not to realize that by putting the WTO meeting in Qatar, the WTO is fucking with us — maybe dealing us a blow. They figure that silence equals consent to capitalist domination, and there's a lot of truth to it. You have to face the fact that a decentralized, global protest won't shatter the veil of capitalist consensus like Seattle did even if there are 50 people outside a McDonalds in Iowa City, 30 people at a teach-in in Smithers BC, 300 people taking over Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, and thousands of others in hundreds of other places around the world.



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Qatar has a lot of advantages from the WTO's point of view. First, it is a monarchy, not a democracy. The same family has been in power since World War I. There are no rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, or freedom of association, so the WTO won't have to worry about pesky protests getting in the way of business. In fact, even according to the US State Department, not exactly a critical source, Qatar can't be called "democratic." The State Department's latest report on Qatar, published in February 2000, notes severe restrictions on freedom of assembly and association:

- The Government does not allow political demonstrations.

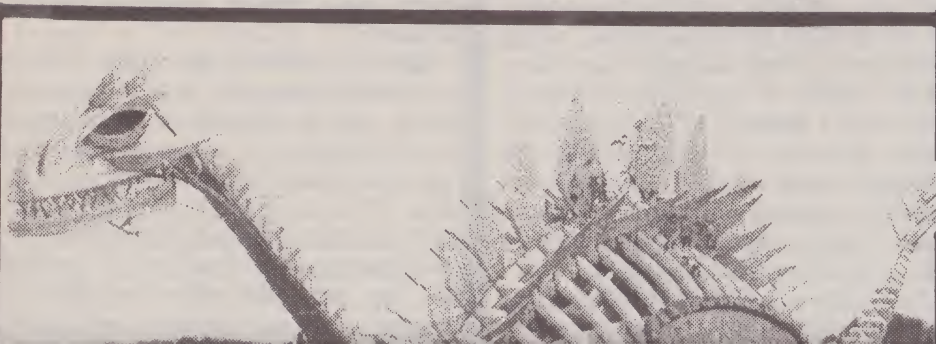
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- Private social, sports, trade, professional, and cultural societies must be registered with the Government. Security forces monitor the activities of such groups.

Trade officials say Qatar has promised to allow all WTO critics who so desire to attend the meeting.

WTO officials at first spurned Qatar's offer, saying the tiny Persian Gulf emirate didn't have enough hotel rooms. But with no other viable alternatives because of the tear gas drenched debacle in Seattle, trade officials worked out a compromise: Delegates will stay on cruise ships in the harbor. Qatar's ambassador to the WTO, Fahad Awaid al-Thani, said that WTO member states informally polled by WTO General Council chairman Kare Bryn of Norway had found "no opposition to us."

"I am very pleased about this," WTO Director-General Michael Moore said. "They [Qatar] were the first to make an offer."



Communiqué

Declaration of War Against Neo-liberalism

To the Global Civil society; To the Italian Defense Committee - Chief of Staff; To the Italian Government - The Prime Minister - The President of the Republic of Italy, US Army Chief of Staff - American Embassy in Rome

of a better life for all, today, we, rebel subjects, formally declare war on you.

This is a choice that you made because we do prefer peace and this decision will mean defying your arrogance and your power but

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On our Cover: Kinetic Sculpture Races

The bike powered vehicle above (and the one on our cover) are part of Arcata's annual Kinetic Sculpture Races held each early June. Sculptures have to be human powered and must race through sand and mud flats, and then be capable of floating to cross a section of the bay. This 4-seater was named "Mega Sore Ass."

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To the Global Civil society; To the Italian Defense Committee - Chief of Staff; To the Italian Government - The Prime Minister - The President of the Republic of Italy, US Army Chief of Staff - American Embassy in Rome CIA Office - SISDE headquarters:

We learn from the Italian media that in a meeting held in Rome on May 24, the Italian and the US government have decided to declare war to the multitude of brothers and sisters that will gather in Genoa against the G8 meeting scheduled for July.

Your choice to deploy your armies and special forces against humanity, takes you closer to your allies in the global south where everyday they kill, starve, and persecute those who don't accept the neo-liberal exploitation.

All over the planet your soldiers use guns against the ideas and the dreams about a different world, a world that would include other worlds.

In your Genoa meeting too, you want to impose a world that is exclusive, a world where the only ideology is that of money, profit, market, goods and bodies. Your world is an empire, you are the emperors and billions of people are simply your subjects.

From the outskirts of this empire, from the several worlds that resist and grow dreaming

of a better life for all, today, we, rebel subjects, formally declare war on you.

This is a choice that you made because we do prefer peace and this decision will mean defying your arrogance and your power, but we have to do it.

It is our duty to try to stop you in order to end injustice.

It is our duty to give voice to our brothers and sisters of the world who are suffering because of you.

It is our duty not to surrender to the fear of your armies and to raise our heads.

It is our duty because we declare wars only when we are obliged to do so.

But if we have to choose between fighting your occupying troops and passive acceptance, we have no doubts. We will fight.

We formally announce we are going on the war-path too. We will be in Genoa and our army of dreamers, poor, children, indios of the world, women, men, gay, lesbians, artists, workers, old and young people, whites, blacks, yellows and reds will disobey your impositions.

Our army was formed to be disbanded but only after your defeat. Today we say 'YA BASTA!'

From the outskirts of the empire,

White Overalls for humanity against neo-liberalism

Is Dancing Terrorism?

FBI brands Reclaim the Streets as "terrorists" — what the fuck have they been smoking?!

By PB Floyd

In another sign that the growing anti-capitalist, anarchist, anti-car movement is gaining effectiveness, the FBI recently listed Reclaim the Streets amongst the "Threats to the United States." In a May 10 statement before the Senate Committees on Appropriations, Armed Services and Select Committee on Intelligence, FBI director Louis Freeh listed Reclaim the Streets as a "potential threat" to the United States along with assorted terrorists from Egypt and Lebanon.

The report reads in part: "Anarchists and extreme socialist groups — many of which, such as the Workers' World Party, Reclaim the Streets, and Carnival Against Capitalism — have an international presence and, at times, also represent a potential threat in the United States. For example, anarchists, operating individually and in groups, caused much of the damage during the 1999 World Trade Organization ministerial meeting in Seattle."

The list also included "extreme fringes of animal rights, environmental, anti-nuclear, and other political and social movements" as well as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

Getting included in such a list is always both a good and a bad sign: it means we're doing something right and are threatening the system, but it also vastly increases the likelihood of infiltration, frame-ups based on planted evidence, government-sponsored internal movement "splits," police use of deadly force, etc.

Reclaim the Streets is actually more of a tactic than a movement or an organization. In 1996, activists in England decided to hold the first RTS "street party" by holding a day-time rave complete with sound system,

regularly carried out all over the globe. RTS goes beyond the limitations of the traditional "march and rally" protest by building coalition with the rave/dance/youth scene to create something that is disruptive and public like a protest, but that is also joyous, fun and beautiful like a party. Because it's fun and crosses over with the counter-culture, it's a

world of enjoyment, art, music and social intercourse is what we're all about creating.

So it is particularly ironic and interesting that the FBI considers these dance-based parties as a "terrorist" threat. Where is the terror? Where is the violence?

As far as we know, no RTS street party has ever (1) exploded; (2) emitted poison gas; or

was something seriously illegal going on or people getting hurt.

After wracking our brains, we figured it must be the video footage on Bay Area Reclaim the Streets' web page, which shows a car getting flipped over during the first street party held in the USA on May 16, 1998. (<http://xinet.com/rtts>.) That street party was to protest the WTO, 18 months before Seattle. Just for the FBI's benefit (you're reading this because it has the newly "terrorist" word RTS in it, right?) that car was *donated* to us by a friend to help us block the street. We drove it into position in the middle of the streets, let the air out of the tires, and flipped it. It was just a *prop*. Kinda like art, ya know? We didn't flip all the cars in Berkeley, as much as they might deserve it, because, ya know, we're about having a good party, not getting into fist fights with innocent people who happen to park in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Anyway, humor aside, the FBI terrorist listing is troubling. Getting branded a "terrorist" is usually a precursor to getting your ass shot off or thrown into prison for life, etc. What's next, Food Not Bombs on the "10 Most Wanted List" for conspiracy to commit lunch?

At its heart, reclaiming the streets is radical and *does* have the potential to overthrow the "American Way Of Life." What if instead of just having a street party once every three months with a few hundred people, there were thousands of autonomous cells everywhere organizing many street parties around the world every single day? Picture millions of people dropping out from capitalism living life for joy, not for their bosses. Imagine people more interested in partying in the streets (and disrupting business as usual)



lot easier for a street party to attract a large crowd.

A street party can effectively shut down a business district in a positive militant yet

(3) kidnapped anyone. It is true that there has been flagrant (1) dancing; (2) loud pulsing music; (3) flyers and banners; (4) public art; (5) kissing. While you might say it is *scary*

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The list also included "extreme fringes of animal rights, environmental, anti-nuclear, and other political and social movements" as well as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

Getting included in such a list is always both a good and a bad sign: it means we're doing something right and are threatening the system, but it also vastly increases the likelihood of infiltration, frame-ups based on planted evidence, government-sponsored internal movement "splits," police use of deadly force, etc.

Reclaim the Streets is actually more of a tactic than a movement or an organization. In 1996, activists in England decided to hold the first RTS "street party" by holding a daytime rave, complete with sound system, dancing, and party games, all with a political spin in a busy intersection. The party aimed to temporarily "reclaim" the street from cars and point out how capitalism and car culture deprive people of public space and opportunities for public festivals.

The brilliant tactic rapidly caught on, and Reclaim the Streets street parties are now

protest, but that is also joyous, fun and beautiful like a party. Because it's fun and crosses over with the counter-culture, it's a



lot easier for a street party to attract a large crowd.

A street party can effectively shut down a business district, in a positive, militant yet non-threatening way. Instead of handing out flyers about the world we *want* to build, street parties permit a revolutionary society to be conducted in the here and now, right on the street for all to see. Any passer-by recognizes that dancing is a lot better looking and more fun than smog-choked asphalt. The asphalt is what capitalism is all about creating;

terror? Where is the violence?

As far as we know, no RTS street party has ever (1) exploded; (2) emitted poison gas; or

(3) kidnapped anyone. It is true that there has been flagrant (1) dancing; (2) loud pulsing music; (3) flyers and banners; (4) public art; (5) kissing. While you might say it is *scary* seeing the weird guy with the spiky hair kissing the buff longshoreman type *out in public*, it isn't exactly *terrorism*.

Maybe the terrorism is because auto traffic gets blocked. We have noticed that a car bombing, like a street party, stops traffic until the mess can get cleaned up. But we thought the FBI only got involved when there

getting flipped over during the first street party held in the USA on May 16, 1998. (<http://xinet.com/rtts>.) That street party was to protest the WTO, 18 months before Seattle. Just for the FBI's benefit (you're reading this because it has the newly "terrorist" word RTS in it, right?) that car was *donated* to us by a friend to help us block the street. We drove it into position in the middle of the streets, let the air out of the tires, and flipped it. It was just a *prop*. Kinda like art, ya know? We didn't flip all the cars in Berkeley, as much as they might deserve it, because, ya know, we're about having a good party, not getting into fist fights with innocent people who happen to park in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Anyway, humor aside, the FBI terrorist listing is troubling. Getting branded a "terrorist" is usually a precursor to getting your ass shot off or thrown into prison for life, etc. What's next, Food Not Bombs on the "10 Most Wanted List" for conspiracy to commit lunch?

At its heart, reclaiming the streets is radical and *does* have the potential to overthrow the "American Way Of Life." What if instead of just having a street party once every three months with a few hundred people, there were thousands of autonomous cells everywhere organizing many street parties around the world every single day? Picture millions of people dropping out from capitalism living life for joy, not for their bosses. Imagine people more interested in partying in the streets (and disrupting business as usual) than partying in some capitalist club. Instead of billions of hours wasted on MTV in some suburb, what about billions of hours wasted partying down on the interstate highway while digging it up to plant crops, bringing the whole capitalist, techno machine to its knees! (While, ironically, listening to "techno" music!) I guess that's why the FBI is watching.

Tips for Activists on Practicing Security Culture

Adopt a Security Culture

Activists organizing mass protests, direct action or anything illegal should make it as difficult as possible for police agencies by adopting a security culture. Activists who are part of a security culture know behaviors that compromise security and quickly educate anyone who acts in a way that violates or threatens security. When all members of a scene understand security and correct mistakes, insecure behavior becomes unacceptable and will stop. This

temporarily "reclaim" the street from cars and point out how capitalism and car culture deprive people of public space and opportunities for public festivals.

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Tips for Activists on Practicing Security Culture

If the FBI is listing anarchists on its list of terrorist threats for dancing and organizing street parties, you can bet surveillance, infiltration and covert government disruption are in the works. Therefore, here's some tips on making it harder for the FBI. Don't make the government's job easier for them by being sloppy and stupid. There's nothing fun or romantic about going to jail or ending up dead.

Surveillance

Assume you are under surveillance if you are involved in organizing mass direct action or anything illegal, and take precautions. Don't discuss sensitive matters on the telephone, through the mail, by email, or in your home, car or political office/center. Don't talk about anything illegal, even if you are just "joking." Keep written materials and lists of individuals secure and never bring address books to protests where arrest is possible — if you're arrested, the police may investigate all your friends.

Never discuss illegal activity

It is never okay to:

- ask about someone else's illegal activities;
- discuss your involvement or someone else's involvement with an underground group;
- discuss someone else's desire to get involved with such a group;
- talk about your participation or someone else's participation in any action that was illegal;
- talk about someone else's advocacy for such actions
- discuss your plans or someone else's plans for a future action.

The only time it's okay to speak about illegal actions is when you are planning them with the small group of trusted people who will be doing the action with you.

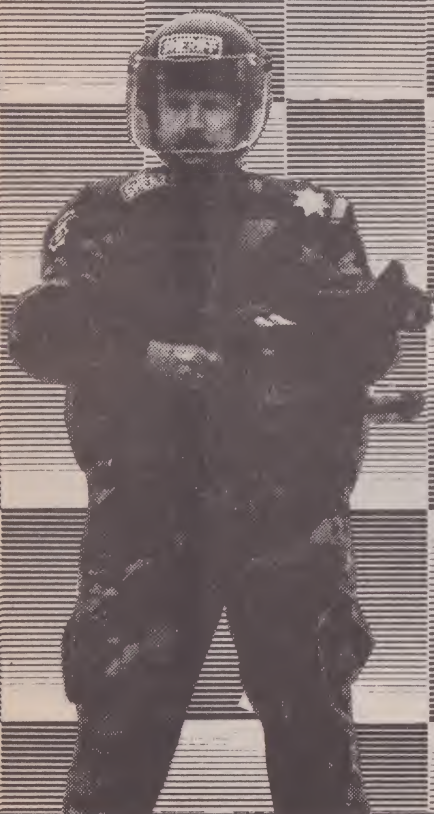
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People in the scene who gossip, brag or ask for unnecessary information about underground groups or illegal activities are a severe danger to the movement. The first time this happens, take such a person aside and gently educate them in private about why such talk is a danger. Be careful not to preach, injure the individual's pride, or raise defenses and prevent them from absorbing the advice. If an individual repeatedly engages in gossip, bragging and/or seeking unnecessary information about inappropriate topics after repeated educational talks, the person should be removed from any position of trust in the movement by being kicked out of meetings, organizations, base camps, etc. Such a person is a grave risk at best, and a police agent looking to entrap others at worst.

Infiltrators

Infiltrators attempt to get information about organizations, disrupt them by creating splits and disorganization in meetings and in individual's lives, and entrap activists by urging insecure illegal activity. They often disrupt groups, ironically, by promoting destructive witch hunts for infiltrators! Carefully check out the authenticity of any disturbing letter, rumor, phone call etc. before acting on it. Ask the supposed source if she or he is responsible. Don't try to expose a suspected agent or informer without solid proof. It generally works better to criticize what a disruptive person says and does without speculating as to why. Avoid entrapment by only doing illegal direct action with people you know well and trust. Avoid government-sponsored splits in movement groups by dealing openly and honestly with differences within our movements in race, gender, class, sexual orientation, etc. before the FBI can exploit them.



THE BUSINESS END OF SPIRITUALITY

by Jackie Sokolinsky

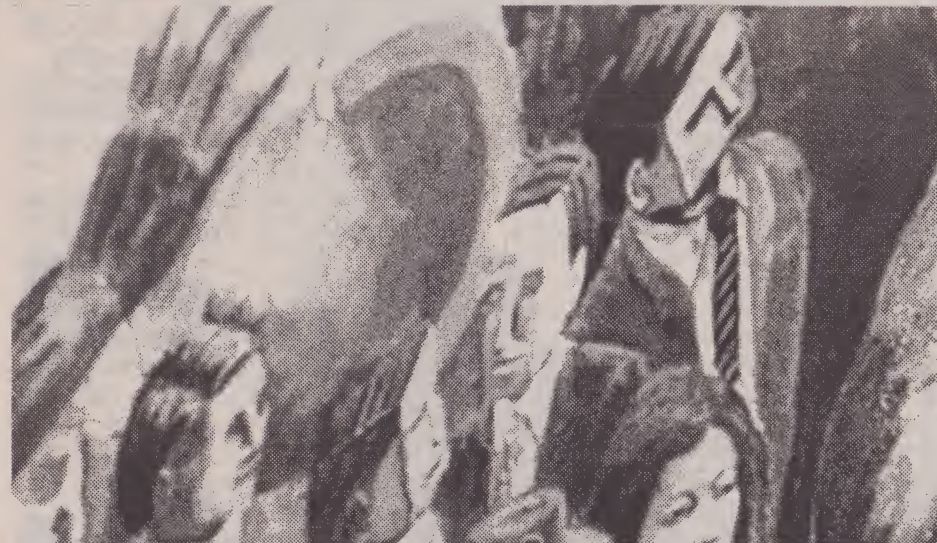
If I could stop howling at all the amusing quips Bill Ford has made to the press concerning the Ford Motor Company's vision for a more virtuous future, I might actually be able to write this article.

It isn't even supposed to be about the Ford Motor Co. Ford came up entirely by accident. You see, I looked up the website of the San Francisco-based Business for Social Responsibility, an organization dedicated to what is termed "socially responsible investing." I learned, rather to my surprise, that the organization's most prominent members include Starbucks, Ford Motor Co., Bank of America, Hewlett-Packard, KPMG LLP, Levi Strauss & Co., American Express, Chevron, Coca-Cola, Eddie Bauer, Liz Claiborne, McDonald's Corporation, Provident Financial and WalMart.

But it's actually not so surprising after all. The environment, as our friend Bill said somewhere, is a big seller. People like hearing terms like "environmentally friendly" thrown around. Use the term "environment" somewhere, prominently, and people will buy the product. "Oh look, honey. It's environmental." As our friend Bill likes to say in his amusing way, this is a really exciting development, and just might help people make the difficult decision to buy an SUV.

Now, our pal Bill is a friend of the working man and the environment, but he likes to point out that his great-granddaddy was ahead of him in this. Henry Ford tried to inculcate real values in the working man by subjecting him to country music and dance lessons, and we're still getting that kind of fine moral leadership from the Ford family.

What links all these companies—from Ford to WalMart (and how's that for a mind-boggling stretch of the imagination?)—is the



all-time favorite is Chevron's "People Do" marketing campaign, which portrays the oil company as a conservation organization, saving America's wetlands and wildlife.

It doesn't worry me too much that the corporations are coopting ideas like "social responsibility"—because the idea of socially responsible business was eminently cooptable from the get-go. Essentially, the idea was that capitalism could go on and on, endlessly exploiting resources (for the new ecologically-friendly market, of course), workers (who would be paid "living wages," of course), and third world countries (in the most helpful, charitable way, of course) and ordinary Americans, like you and me, caring people, could make oodles of easy money by investing. In fact, it's practically a duty to invest in Green

Corporate culture is... the culture of solacing

Remember: problem. Not solution. Problem. Repeat this, if necessary, daily.

I've tried to read Chris Walker's teachings, which are available online at www.walkerinternational.com, but they are very creepy. I don't recommend them to anyone who values their sanity. He knows his stuff—you can't fight him on that level. I am reminded of a former coworker, a friendly Jehovah's Witness, who told me that in his view, there are just four kinds of people: good, bad, wicked and evil. Well, this guy is evil. On the other hand, the members of groups like the Fellowship of Companies for Christ International are only wicked. They blithely "request that you pray as you complete the contribution form, and ask God how HE would have you support FCCI."

And *Slingshot*, amen.

I've singled out the most evil and the most funny, but actually there are many "spiritual" corporate consultants and advisors. "We want

Damaging one can be done with impunity if one simply prays and has a good heart. But the metaphysical is entwined with the physical world, and when we damage the physical, we do harm to the metaphysical at the same time. The only way to truly infuse our lives with sanctity is to approach living with faith instead of fear; to believe that if we step away from capitalism and act on our values instead, we will find the support we need. That is true piety.

I expect that at this point we're all getting a little confused about why we want to kill ourselves, but... amassing vast private capital from the blood, sweat and tears of the suicidally depressed formerly independent populations of formerly clean and beautiful countries with the friendly help of U.S.-funded military dictators and corporate spiritualists, is not the solution.

So, what can we do about it, besides make fun of Bill Ford, which is always amusing?

- First, we need to be really really clear about what true spirituality is.
- We need to be able to identify the gospel of capitalism when we see it, and understand why it's bunk.
- We need to destroy corporate morale—at every level, from the little guys to the big guys. Don't let the World Bank's members

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What links all these companies—from Ford to WalMart (and how's that for a mind-bending stretch of the imagination?)—is the discovery that a "values-based corporate culture" is highly profitable.

This is an understandable conclusion. I mean, when I was (between the ages of 14 and 18) a potential high-school dropout, my concerned parents grimly threatened: "Do you want to work at McDonald's for the rest of your life?" To this day when I walk by a McDonald's and see people inside *working at McDonald's* I automatically think, *That person didn't listen to his-or-her parents.* The corporation has a serious problem on its hands: if the mere concept of working for them is used by parents to terrify their teenage children into obedience, imagine the state of employee morale in those franchises?

Morale is a big issue for corporations. It gets more critical with every environmental disaster, plant closure, corporate takeover and switchover to an HMO. Morale is a problem for Job at the bottom, who has to work 70 hours a week to survive, and it's a problem for



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Business, and Community Business, and Businesses Run By Disadvantaged People.

What does bother me is that business, whether big or small, has succeeded to some degree in boosting morale in corporate culture. Corporate culture is the culture of cheap, crummy developments built up on toxic waste dumps; it's the culture of solacing unfulfilling lives with imaginary needs for Technology and Stuff; it's the culture of days wasted in labors which have no satisfying conclusion and "free time" consumed by recovering from mental and physical exhaustion; it's the culture of fear which keeps every man and woman a "worker" instead of a self-defined person, dependent on a hated way of life, convinced of the inevitability of disappointment. That is corporate culture, no matter how many walk-a-thons and literacy drives the corporation chooses to sponsor.

But according to observers like Corinne McLaughlin, Executive Director of The Center for Visionary Leadership, American corporations are becoming not only socially

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I've singled out the most evil and the most funny, but actually there are many "spiritual" corporate consultants and religious alliances of business owners. After all, there's a huge market for what they're peddling. Why?

1. Morale. Like the Mi'kmaq kids, we (the employees) are being told not to see our futures of continuing privation and exploitation with despair. The corporate executives want us to have a sense of optimism, a sense that things are changing, that we are living, as Chris Walker puts it, in revolutionary times. Raise morale, and people will work harder, more willingly. Their lives will still feel hard, but they will think it's in a good cause. The members of the World Bank feel—despite all the hostility they get every time they show their faces—that they are making a positive contribution to the world. Why do you think corporations organize vision quests and higher power lunches and feng shui and yoga for their executives? Simply, the executives carry the burden of conscious responsibility. They have to believe that their actions are good, or at worst, inevitable. Belief is what keeps them going, day after day. Belief is everything.

2. Greed. Flat out greed. There seems to be profit in it for everybody. Spiritual corporate consultants can make a killing preaching the gospel of capital. Corporations can reap the benefits of improved morale and

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- We need to be able to identify the gospel of capitalism when we see it, and understand why it's bunk.
- We need to destroy corporate morale—at every level, from the little guys to the big guys. Don't let the World Bank's members believe they are doing good in the world.
- Get better at distinguishing between pleasure and greed. Live for pleasure, not for profit.
- Know the difference between kindness and exploitation.
- Know the difference between inner truth and bad attitude.
- Recognize and respect the harmony of the physical and the metaphysical.
- Don't allow fear to prevent you from changing, growing, and acting in ways which expand freedom and joy.
- Expose InnerCorporate™ scams.
- Smash capitalism, smash the state, eat lunch, get more soil amendments and start thinking about a new article.



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Job, Jr. at the top, who has to work 70 hours a week because it's in his \$100,000 contract and has to golf at the same country club as his boss.

Well the corporations have found an ingenious way to boost employee morale. Starbucks, for example, is proud of its many community-building programs, and as a matter of policy encourages employees to do charity work. Some corporations take their claims of do-gooding so far that they promote the idea that the company is itself a "good cause." My

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But according to observers like Corinne McLaughlin, Executive Director of The Center for Visionary Leadership, American corporations are becoming not only socially responsible, but spiritual. The proofs she cites are incontestable. The World Bank, whose commitment to social responsibility is already much admired internationally, drawing excited crowds everywhere its members go, has a Spiritual Unfoldment Society with lectures on meditation and reincarnation.

This movement to bring spiritual practices into the corporations is led by people like Christopher Walker. Not only does Chris Walker teach InnerWealth™ to corporate executives, but he was brought in by the Canadian government to instruct the Mi'kmaq of Big Cove in real spiritual values so they would stop killing themselves.

I expect that at this point we're all getting a little confused about why we want to kill ourselves, but let me remind the reader that amassing vast private capital from the blood, sweat and tears of the suicidally depressed formerly independent populations of formerly clean and beautiful countries with the friendly help of U.S.-funded military dictators and corporate spiritualists, is not the solution. No, dear confused reader, it is the problem.

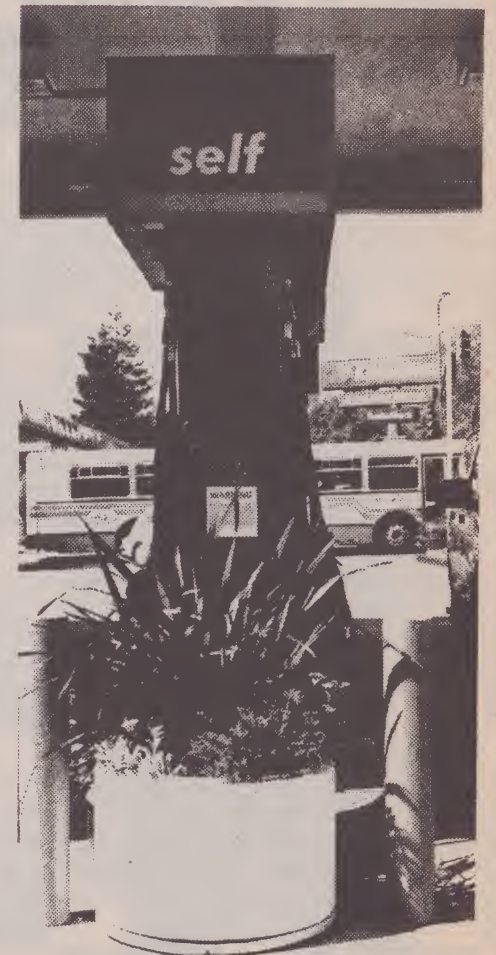
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2. Greed. Flat out greed. There seems to be profit in it for everybody. Spiritual corporate consultants can make a killing preaching the gospel of capital. Corporations can reap the benefits of improved morale and marketability—don't forget how well social responsibility sells! Even small-fry employees seem to believe there's a profit in it for them. Some are inspired by the gospel to start their own business. Others swear that the office feng shui brought them unanticipated windfalls of money. Managers believe that "incentives" get people to work harder, and help combat the tendency of people to hate the company they work for. Spiritual meditations help people to drive away "bad attitude" and before you know it, those gift certificates for \$5 off at the company store start looking like sincere gestures of appreciation from one's fellow inspired and loving man.

3. Piety. Many people want their lives to be infused with the sort of depth and quality which comes from living in tune with their spiritual beliefs. The trouble is that no gospel worth its salt can accept—much less endorse, accommodate and work for—the goals of capitalism. The gospel of capital depends on the assumption that the physical and metaphysical are entirely separate entities.



- profit.
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Judi Bari Trial Set for October 1st

Funds and Support Needed

More than 11 years after a car bomb exploded under Earth First! activist Judi Bari as she drove her car in Oakland, her civil rights lawsuit against the FBI and the Oakland Police Department is finally scheduled to go to trial October 1. Although Judi didn't live to see trial (she died of cancer in 1997) her spirit is powerfully present in the final days of trial preparation.

The lawsuit alleges that the FBI and the Oakland Police Department framed Judi and Darryl Cherney (who was riding with her in the car) on charges that they car-bombed themselves. Instead of trying to find the real bomber, the FBI and the OPD tried to smear Judi and Darryl's reputation in an attempt to disrupt the 1990 Redwood Summer protests which aimed to preserve the ancient redwood trees in Headwaters forest and elsewhere.

In the ten years the lawsuit has been pending, Judi and Darryl's lawyers have uncovered shocking evidence of FBI and police misconduct, while surviving numerous government motions to dismiss the case. Part of the headwaters forest was preserved for future generations when the government bought a 7400 acre section in 1999. Forest defenders in the Mattole valley are still struggling to preserve 3,000 acres of old growth from Pacific Lumber chainsaws.

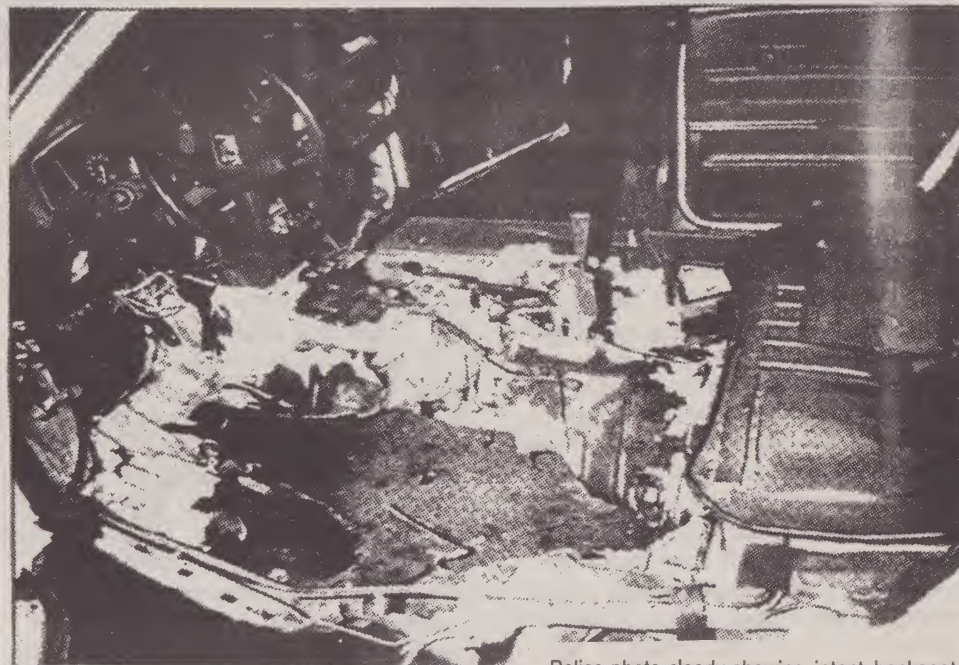
With trial approaching, community support and public awareness of the lawsuit are crucial. In particular, funds are needed for the legal team who are fighting the case. See the end of this article for where to send donations.

Eleven years is a long time to wait for "justice", and a lot of folks aren't familiar with Judi's case. Therefore, we publish this summary of the issues at stake.

bomb exploded beneath labor/environmental organizer Judi Bari's driver's seat as she and fellow activist Darryl Cherney drove through Oakland on their way to an organizing event in Santa Cruz. Judi and Darryl were the two most prominent organizers for Earth First! Redwood Summer, a planned summer-long campaign of non-violent protests in defense of California's North Coast redwood forests. In the weeks prior to the bombing, Judi, Darryl and other Earth First! organizers received numerous and increasingly scary death threats focused on their involvement in the redwood struggle.

The bomb was hidden under the driver's seat and triggered by a motion device, clearly a politically motivated assassination attempt. Even so, the FBI appeared on the scene within 15 minutes of the blast and seized on the attack to attempt to portray Judi and Darryl as bombers and "neutralize" their EFI organizing. Aided by the Oakland Police and in contradiction to the physical evidence, the FBI declared that the activists had been knowingly transporting the bomb on the back seat floor board of the car, and that it had exploded accidentally. According to Oakland police testimony, the FBI told them at the scene that Judi and Darryl, two non-violent activists, were "the type of individuals who would be involved in transporting explosives, bombs."

The Oakland Police placed Judi under arrest just three hours after the blast as she struggled for her life in the hospital. Her leg was partially paralyzed and her pelvis shattered by the bomb that left her permanently disabled and in constant pain until her death March 2, 1997 of breast cancer. Darryl was arrested within twelve hours. The two became the focus of an FBI smear campaign that resulted in nationwide headlines declaring the activists guilty of transporting



Police photo clearly showing intact backseat

was discovered in the vehicle that are identical to the nails taped to the explosive device." In fact, the nails taped to the bomb were finishing nails; while the nails found in two bags in the car were roofing nails and sinkers, quite different to the naked eye from the nails in the bomb.

LIE # 3: FBI lab bomb expert SSA Williams has also testified that the bomb was triggered by a motion device, consisting of a large ball bearing that had to roll to connect two contact points. The fact that the bomb was hidden under the car seat and triggered by the motion of the car certainly undermines FBI/OPD claims that a reasonable officer could have thought Judi and Darryl were

environmentalists, both locally and nationally. Meanwhile the FBI failed to follow up on significant leads that indicate the bombing was an assassination attempt, plotted in retaliation for Judi and Darryl's organizing activities. For instance, the death threats Judi had received before the bombing were never investigated or even sent to the FBI lab for analysis.

FBI BOMB SCHOOL

The most outrageous revelations about FBI involvement in the bombing case came through deposition testimony which disclosed that an FBI "bomb school" was held in Eureka, California, just one month before Judi and Darryl were bombed in Oakland. During the

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was discovered in the vehicle that are identical to the nails taped to the explosive device." In fact, the nails taped to the bomb were finishing nails; while the nails found in two bags in the car were roofing nails and sinkers, quite different to the naked eye from the nails in the bomb.

LIE # 3: FBI lab bomb expert SSA Williams has also testified that the bomb was triggered by a motion device, consisting of a large ball bearing that had to roll to connect two contact points. The fact that the bomb was hidden under the car seat and triggered by the motion of the car certainly undermines FBI/OPD claims that a reasonable officer could have thought Judi and Darryl were anything but the intended targets of the bomb.

During the week-long Bomb Investigators Training Course, the FBI blew up cars with pipe bombs and practiced responding

them. After seven weeks, the Alameda County District Attorney declined to press charges; there was simply no evidence. To this day, no legitimate investigation has ever been conducted and the bombers remain at large.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWSUIT

Knowing that such violence and government repression would only increase if left unchallenged, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney filed suit against the FBI and OPD in May of 1991, charging them with false arrest and civil rights violations. The federal lawsuit claims that the FBI and Oakland police knew that Judi and Darryl were innocent, and that they were in fact the intended targets of a brutal assassination attempt. But instead of treating it as such, the FBI launched a plan to discredit Earth First! and Judi and Darryl as organizers, in order to "neutralize" the burgeoning forest protection movement.

THE FRAME-UP

Through the lawsuit's discovery process,

environmentalists, both locally and nationally. Meanwhile the FBI failed to follow up on significant leads that indicate the bombing was an assassination attempt, plotted in retaliation for Judi and Darryl's organizing activities. For instance, the death threats Judi had received before the bombing were never investigated or even sent to the FBI lab for analysis.

FBI BOMB SCHOOL

The most outrageous revelations about FBI involvement in the bombing case came through deposition testimony which disclosed that an FBI "bomb school" was held in Eureka, California, just one month before Judi and Darryl were bombed in Oakland. During the week-long Bomb Investigators Training Course, the FBI blew up cars with pipe bombs and practiced responding. The teacher at bomb school was Special Agent Frank Doyle, the very same FBI bomb expert who showed up at the scene one month later in Oakland and supervised the collection of evidence. SA Doyle is credited with the pronouncement that the bomb was visible in the back seat.

Another FBI lie was uncovered when the defendants were forced to unredact previously blacked-out passages of internal FBI reports and communiqués made during the first hours after the bombing. Throughout the depositions, every FBI agent and OPD officer involved in this case denied under oath that there had been any investigation of Judi, Darryl or Earth First! prior to the bombing. Yet the passages ordered disclosed by the court show them characterizing Earth First! as suspected of terrorist activities, and stating that Darryl and Judi were already known to the FBI and were the "subjects of an FBI investigation in the terrorist field."

The evidence that raises the most serious questions about the extent of FBI involvement in the bombing case is the FBI's "THERMCON" file. The San Francisco FBI records of the THERMCON case, the FBI sting operation targeting Arizona Earth First! and EF! founder Dave Foreman, are key to the Oakland bombing case. Not only does it chronicle an active FBI undercover operation against EF! at

LIE # 4. In the warrant for a groundless second search of Judi's home one month after the bombing, Oakland police claim they were told by FBI lab expert SSA Williams that nails were found in the house that matched nails in the bomb "in a batch of 200-1,000 nails." SSA Williams has testified that he never said that, and in fact nails are made in batches of millions, and cannot be matched on that scale.

THE BOGUS INVESTIGATION

The files also document the FBI's bogus investigation of the bombing, as page after page reveals that they used this case as an excuse to conduct a far reaching campaign of political intelligence gathering on



When Earth First! activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney first filed their civil rights lawsuit against the FBI and Oakland Police Department in 1991, they were told a suit of this kind would take ten years to come to trial. In those 10 years, the case has gone through four name changes, two different judges and an appellate court decision. It has survived repeated attempts by the defendants to have the case thrown out, and unearthed thousands of pages of FBI files and police documents. The result is documented proof of a covert operation in 1990 against Earth First! that used the tactics of the FBI's notorious Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO). The FBI claims that COINTELPRO was discontinued in 1975, after a congressional investigation found it involved massive violations of constitutional rights. The trial on October 1 will expose the tactics used since 1975 on the radical environmental and other progressive movements and prove this claim a lie.

THE BOMBING

Just before noon on May 24th, 1990, a pipe

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THE FRAME-UP

Through the lawsuit's discovery process, Judi's lawyers have gotten access to the FBI's and OPD's own documents, including striking police photos of the bombed out car that shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that the bomb was hidden beneath the seat and the FBI knew it. The files document the series of blatant lies told by the FBI and Oakland Police from the first moments after the blast.

LIE # 1: The search warrant states that the FBI claims that the bomb "was on the floor board behind the driver's seat when it detonated." This is disproved by the police's own crime scene photos, which clearly show the hole in the car's floorboard to be centered under the driver's seat, and the back seat still intact. Also, the FBI's own bomb expert from the lab in D.C., SSA David R. Williams, has confirmed that the bomb was hidden under the driver's seat, and that this would have been obvious from the damage to the car.

LIE # 2: The search warrant also quotes the FBI as saying that "a separate bag of nails

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Most disturbing about the THERMCON file is what isn't there. Where the documents from February through May of 1990 should be, there is a page that reads simply, "Serials 141-159 were missing from the file when it was processed." The next document in the file is dated June 1990, one month after the bombing.

Funds and support are needed. *Contact the Redwood Summer Justice Project, PO Box 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402, 707-887-0262. Donations should be earmarked for the lawsuit. The final hearing before trial will take place on July 28 to hear the FBI's summary judgment motion. Judge Claudia Wilkin's court, Oakland Federal Bldg, 13th and Clay, 10 am.*



Nuclear power —

by:

xarick.

Have we time-warped back to the 1950s, or is the future here? Just a few years ago, it seemed like the anti-nuclear movement had sent nuclear energy towards its grave. Yet now major players from President Bush to the UN are hyping nuclear power as a clean, cheap energy source.

We thought we knew nuclear power was a bad deal. But the pro-nuclear arguments peppering the mainstream press are seductive: Since nuclear energy doesn't emit greenhouse gasses, perhaps it is a good alternative to fossil fuels? And isn't it cheaper right now than both coal and natural gas? Industry-funded polling indicates that a slim majority actually does support nuclear industry.

But although Vice President Cheney dismisses those against nuclear power as influenced by "irrational fears," there continue to be sound arguments against nuclear energy. From an economic, environmental, and safety standpoint, nuclear energy is not a good choice. We cannot consider the work done; we must continue to voice these arguments in contrast to the pro-nuclear rhetoric appearing daily. Continued vigilance is essential to prevent a nuclear renaissance.

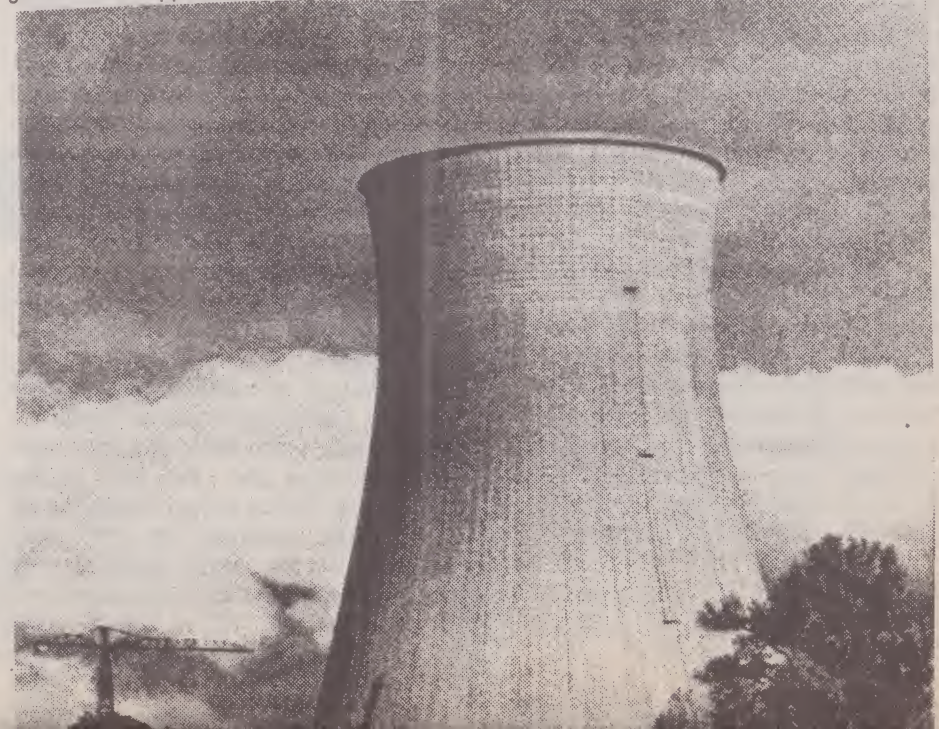
At the earliest estimate, the dump would be open by 2010; until then, spent fuel will continue to be stored at the plants where it is used. This is a generally safe way to store the spent fuel; however, plants are already running out of storage room and the problem will only get worse if plant licenses are renewed for another 20 years of operation.

In comparison to US disposal problems, Cheney points to France and their "well-run" program of both recycling nuclear fuel (called reprocessing) and attempting to dispose of it underground. But the French situation is a joke. Cheney is apparently unaware that France does not even have a site picked out for the underground dump, due to intense public opposition to the locations selected (at least one of which was, unsurprisingly, in a poor region of the country). And fuel reprocessing is an international scandal. One of the main objections to reprocessing is that it makes available plutonium that could be used in nuclear weapons. Theoretically this plutonium is carefully tracked and disposed of. However, the French plant is managed in such high disregard of French law that their ability to properly handle the plutonium is in doubt: Under French law the plant (the largest reprocessing facility in the world, with a majority of shares owned by the French government) can take fuel from other countries, but the recycled fuel and highly radioactive waste must be returned to the country of origin after the 5-8 year process. Surprise! Contracts from the early 1990's indicate that foreign countries had no intention

market has been glutted since the late nineties when the Department of Energy privatized the world's largest fuel enrichment facility. At the same time that uranium fuel became dirt cheap compared to platinum-priced natural gas, construction costs on many plants were finally paid off, leaving utilities ready to reap the benefits of their nuclear behemoths.

The industry requires a huge infrastructure, which relies heavily on government support even when the plants

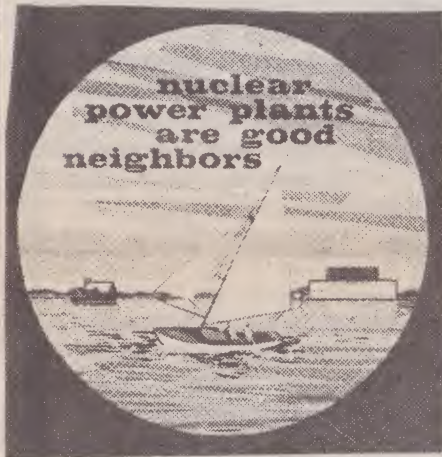
damages up to \$8 billion; past this figure the government assumes responsibility. There are many possible accidents that could result in damages in excess of \$8 billion: The cost of the Chernobyl, for instance, was \$350 billion. (A better comparison would be a damage figure from Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island accident; however, for some strange reason, updated estimates are not readily available.) Although Germany and Switzerland adopted unlimited liability for utilities in the 1980s, a



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It is true that nuclear power generation emits few greenhouse gasses, even in comparison to 'clean coal technology'. However, the immense amounts of pollution associated with the rest of the nuclear fuel cycle render this statement woefully ridiculous.

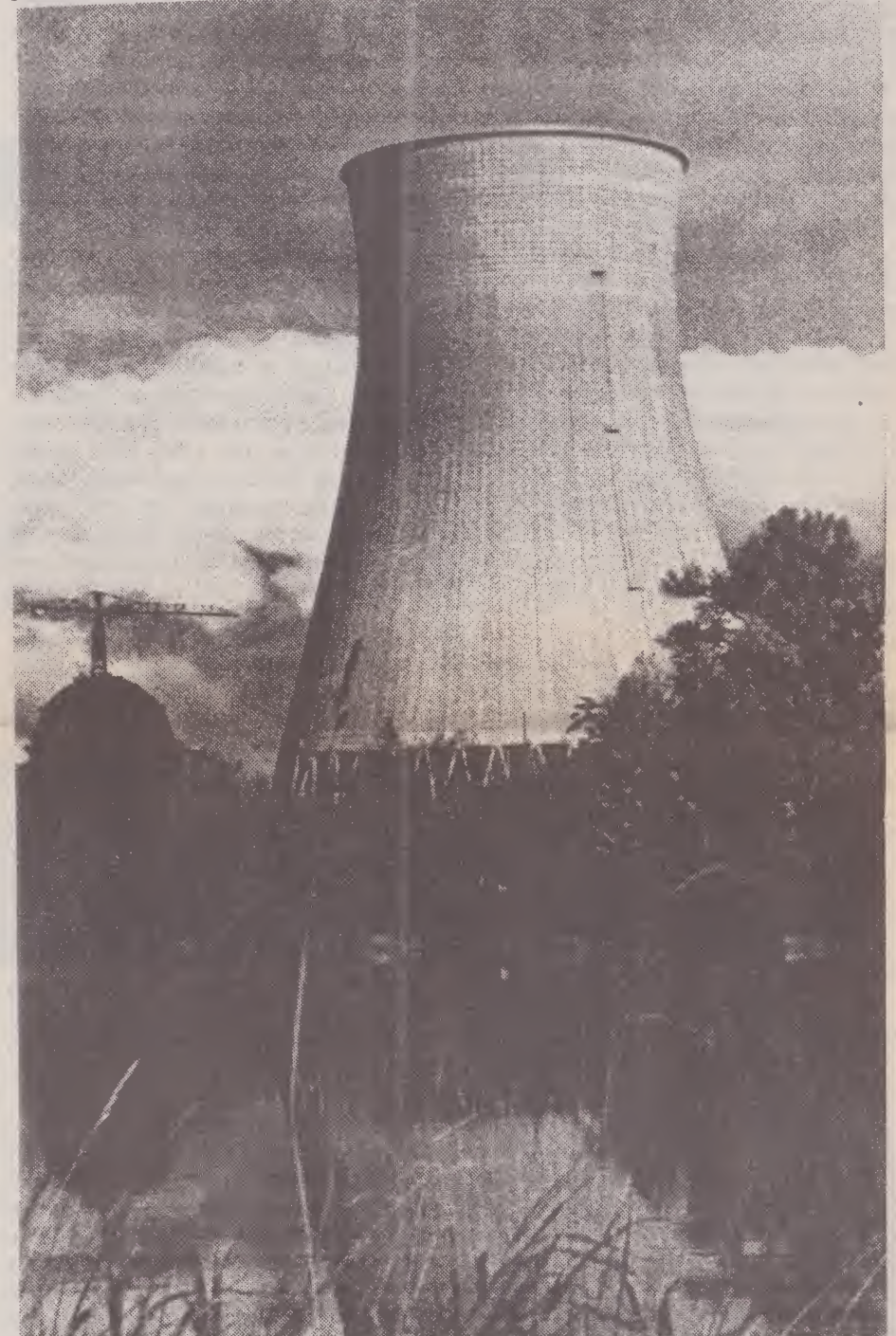
Nuclear advocates like to point out that the waste, although highly radioactive, is also very concentrated, unlike air pollution from fossil fuel plants, which is almost impossible to handle once it's out in the atmosphere. But what to do with this concentrated waste has not been resolved by any of the countries using nuclear power. Vice President Cheney likes to cite France as an example of a well-managed waste disposal program, in contrast to the problems plaguing the US program, which he says are purely political. Perhaps Cheney

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And while the waste is the biggest dilemma, the rest of the fuel cycle is far from benign. Uranium mining leaves behind piles of uranium mine tailings. The process of turning uranium ore into fuel is the single largest user of electricity in the US-- and this electricity is ironically generated by some of the dirtiest coal plants in the country, according to the executive director of the US Enrichment Corporation (located in the heart of Appalachia in Paducah, KY). Power plants emit radioactive gasses and particles; it is difficult to quantify damage to surrounding communities by this radiation, but the Massachusetts Department of Health did link high leukemia rates in the counties surrounding the Pilgrim power plant outside Boston to

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themselves belong to investor-owned utilities. Much of this support net is already in place, but has not yet been completely paid off. One example is fuel enrichment. The Department of Energy (DOE) is required by law to get a

bill in Congress (H.R. 1679) now proposes renewing the Price Anderson Act past its 2002 expiration date.

In recent years the government has been less willing to support the nuclear industry. The



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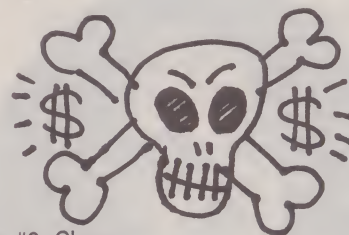
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In the US, the Department of Energy (DOE) wants to permanently store spent nuclear fuel underground at Yucca Mountain, NV, about 120 miles NW of Las Vegas. Although several locations were originally considered, Congress decided Yucca Mountain would be the only site to receive serious study. After almost 20 years of work, finding the site unsuitable would be political suicide for the Department of Energy, and is thus essentially not an option no matter what scientific results show.

Major scientific issues continue to pop up, but the DOE, in a rush to have the site certified as safe by Winter 2001, has taken an engineering approach to the project. Scientific questions are ignored in favor of 'engineering' the problems away. The project is poorly managed, morale is low, and the best scientists are driven away out of frustration. Politically, Nevada resents storing the nation's waste when the state does not have any nuclear power plants.

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Myth #2: Cheap

The production price of nuclear power (including the costs of fuel, plant maintenance, and operation) is now less than that of coal or natural gas, at 1.83 cents/kilowatthour compared to 2.07 and 3.52 cents/kwh, respectively, during Winter 2000. But look at muddy dealings behind these numbers, first at the fuel market and secondly at the large subsidies given to the nuclear industry.

Nuclear power is suddenly so attractive mainly because of the spikes in natural gas prices over winter 2000. Incidentally, one of the major natural gas suppliers in the country, Enron Corp in Texas, is also one of the two corporations scrambling to buy nuclear power plants across the northeast. The uranium fuel

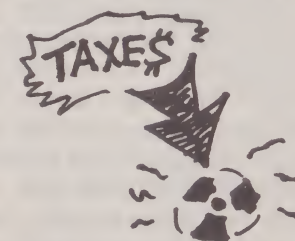


themselves belong to investor-owned utilities. Much of this support net is already in place, but has not yet been completely paid off. One example is fuel enrichment. The Department of Energy (DOE) is required by law to get a full return on the approximately \$11 billion it has put out toward uranium enrichment. Including the costs of cleaning up and decommissioning enrichment facilities, this figure rises an additional \$4-20 billion (depending on different estimates). Utilities are only liable for a third of the clean-up costs. Privatizing the enrichment company was one step towards recovering the costs, but also flooded the uranium market, thus lowering fuel prices. (In order to look appealing to investors, the newly private company, US Enrichment Corp, stated it had huge reserves of enriched uranium.) Simultaneously, legislation wrote off all but \$3 billion of the debt the DOE had accumulated around uranium enrichment. The public absorbed most of the enrichment expenditures, while the nuclear power industry had a large supply of cheap fuel.

The government also siphons money to the nuclear industry through the Price-Anderson Act. First passed in the 1950s and extended through the 1990s, this legislation is government-provided insurance for the nuclear industry. Utilities are liable for

bill in Congress (H.R. 1679) now proposes renewing the Price Anderson Act past its 2002 expiration date.

In recent years the government has been less willing to support the nuclear industry. The amount the industry receives from the federal government has not been increasing; in fact, although Bush administration rhetoric supports nuclear power, the Bush 2002 budget proposal cuts funding for parts of the industry up to 50%. However, bills have been introduced in both the Senate and House drastically increasing government support, including the Price-Anderson act extension. Watch out for Senator Pete Dominici (R-NM), a major supporter of the nuclear industry and sponsor of the Senate bill (S-472).



Over the long term the government (ie, the public) will be forced to pour money into the decommissioning and cleanup of different nuclear facilities, because surcharges mandated by the Nuclear Regulatory

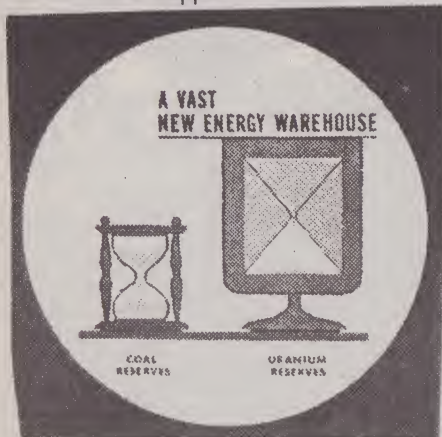
—hit or myth?

RADIOACTIVE HANDLE CAREFULLY
OBSERVE PRESCRIBED
SEPARATION DISTANCES
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CONTENTS:
NO. OF CURIES:

TRANSPORT INDEX
(MAXIMUM OF
PER VEHICLE
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Commission to support these long range activities are estimated to be too small. Even with the nuclear industry dormant the public foots their bill; reviving nuclear energy will require a renewal of government-funded infrastructure support.



Myth #3: Safe

It is theoretically possible to run a nuclear program very safely. Safety at US plants is generally good and is actually improving as the plants are privatized. (Since one company owns several plants, knowledge is shared among the plants, and investor-owned utilities have monetary incentives to keep the plants running well.) The industry likes to point to nifty new reactor designs which prohibit the possibility of a meltdown.

However, even at well-run facilities, strange mistakes happen, like the incident at the Japanese enrichment plant where hurried workers added too much uranium. And,

investigate connections between nuclear facilities and local leukemia rates, some strong links have been established (for example, between high leukemia rates and both the Pilgrim power plant outside of Boston and the French fuel reprocessing facility).

Nuclear power is a bad deal. Despite Cheney's claim that people against nuclear power are slaves to "irrational fears," nuclear power's unsuitability is obvious to anyone who can step outside the industry's rhetoric. You don't have to be a paranoid freak to oppose spending billions supporting the creation of a highly radioactive riddle (nuclear waste), the solution to which has not yet been developed and requires even more billions of dollars. All because nuclear power doesn't directly emit greenhouse gasses? Last time I checked, there was a comparatively benign solution to both energy and global warming woes: energy efficiency and solar/wind power.

In fact, research into energy efficiency wins the prize for the greatest returns on the least amount of money, a piddly \$8 billion compared to \$66 billion spent on nuclear energy research over the past 50 years. The US today uses 42% less energy per unit of gross domestic product than in 1970, a much greater gain than the 11% of the country's energy supply generated by nuclear power.

According to a MSNBC poll, a majority of young, college-educated people in the US think both nuclear energy and energy efficiency are "energy sources of the future". Many people support renewable energy but question how it can meet the baseload energy demands

currently covered by a combination of coal, natural gas, and nuclear energy (20%). Well, yes, that is the billion dollar question: the answer is dependent upon whether the government chooses to support renewables and energy efficiency research or nuclear power.

Unfortunately, energy efficiency and solar/wind power are not as sexy as the image of 'harnessing the atom'. And more importantly, they are smaller scale projects that don't require the huge infrastructure and long time attention associated with nuclear power. The nuclear industry is large and almost inseparable from governments around the world. Now that the Bush administration is vocally supporting nuclear energy, and investor owned utilities have taken an interest, the industry may experience a small renaissance in the form of extended plant operating licenses. Plants are initially licensed for 40 years; licenses will be up for renewal as soon as 2006, with all but two due by 2030. Two plants in Maryland and South Carolina recently had their licenses extended by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, a move unforeseen a few years ago. Investor-owned energy companies will not back down easily from their quest to re-license their newly-acquired plants.

But as Congressman Ed Markey said, you can prop up a corpse but you can't reanimate it. Even with the recently completed designs for small scale, passively safe reactors, it will be very difficult to build a new nuclear plant in this country. Anti-nuclear activists must follow the nuclear industry's rapacious gaze to

lesser- industrialized countries; China, India, South Korea and other countries have developed nuclear energy programs without the hindrance of the strong US and European antinuclear movement.

Germany, with 25% of its electricity generated by nuclear power, is the first industrial country to dismantle its nuclear power system. In an exciting, unprecedented move, Germany will be shutting down their 19 plants over the next 25 years in favor of energy efficiency and alternative energy sources.

Within the US, activists must push wholeheartedly for government and cultural support of energy efficiency and renewable energy. Although there has been little public scrutiny of the nuclear industry in recent years, the legacy of the strong anti-nuclear movement means that nuclear policy in this country is still somewhat dependent upon public opinion. It is thus up to the public to shove the government towards energy efficiency and renewable energy research, and to support the cultural shift required by a serious commitment to these technologies. We must break out of the inertia holding us to a grossly consumptive lifestyle.

Perhaps the 'irrational fear' of a nuclear meltdown will help fuel this cultural shift, although the primary arguments against nuclear power aren't safety-orientated. Rational considerations of economic and environmental realities dictate a move away from nuclear power. From any angle, the heart of the nuclear industry is rotten.

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Capitalism Hates the Sun...

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By PB Floyd

This summer, three energy related stories are unfolding in California: Governor Davis is spending \$6.6 billion in tax money to buy off a handful of energy companies in an attempt to avoid rolling blackouts; despite the ransom payments, rolling blackouts are expected to happen almost daily anyway; and meanwhile, billions of watts of solar energy are falling from the sky on millions of rooftops across the state, and are going to waste, unused.

At the very least, it is highly ironic that here in the "sunshine state", where it is sunny pretty much all year long, people are worried about an energy "shortage." In reality, energy is all around us — we just don't harness it.



Current solar technology is already adequate to provide most if not all energy for water heating, and solar electric technology is quickly becoming price competitive with fossil fuel powered electricity. And that's without any appreciable corporate or government support for years. There's even lots of Do It Yourself solar opportunities: each clothesline replaces a fossil fueled drier and those camping solar showers can be heated up in an hour, hung on a hook in your regular shower and used instead of a fossil fueled shower until you get the permanent solar water system put on the roof.

The reason why no one seems to be talking about just *getting rid of* the dirty, private, corporate electrical generators and replacing them with decentralized, clean solar technology is because solar power is bad for capitalism.

"What?" you say.

It's true that initially, when you spend money to install solar systems, it can be "good" for companies that supply and install the systems. But ultimately, capitalism requires constant growth to survive. And once you install solar, it produces power for free for decades, with no owner to pay.

Meeting people's needs for energy is basically irrelevant for the capitalist system: what is really important is serving the system's *internal* needs.

Solar, where installed in a decentralized fashion, reduces dependence on market transactions and makes folks more independent. That's bad if capitalism is to keep expanding. Extractive industries like fossil fuel production, in contrast, are perfect for capitalism because, since these fuels run out at any particular location, there's always room for more expansion of production.

What would happen if Governor Davis spent the \$6.6 billion he plans to spend this summer on solar panels instead of paying off the fossil fuel Mafia? Either way, whether he spends the money or not, there are going to be blackouts. Perhaps a summer of blackouts might not be so bad if at the end of the summer, there was something to show for it.

How much solar power does \$6.6 billion buy?

According to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, which has installed 750 residential rooftop photo voltaic solar systems

since 1993, a 2000 watt system costs about \$9,000 and supplies more power than an average household needs.. Such a system produces 3,600 kw/hours per year, and has a greater than 30 year expected lifetime. It pays for itself in about 10 years. Moreover, each 2000 watt system annually prevents 3.7 tons of coal from being burned, reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 10,000 pounds. And, according to SMUD, "it looks cool!"

For \$6.6 billion, you could put solar systems on 75,000 houses, assuming SMUD cost estimates. SMUD talks about how they've brought down costs with "volume purchasing", but 750 systems in 8 years isn't very much volume. For \$6.6 billion, each system would be



cheaper, so maybe 100,000 houses could go solar.

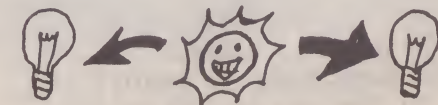
The "peak demand" for power, when it's so scarce there are blackouts and the energy cartel reaps their most obscene profits, is in the middle of the day, just when the sun is supplying the most power. Would 100,000 roof solar systems help during peak demand? It wouldn't hurt, and what is the \$6.6 billion



poured down the private energy deregulation rat hole buying? Blackouts.

Sometimes I sit on the front porch watching the waves and waves of traffic going by, and I think how modern industrial society is like a little kid playing in the mud, oblivious to the mess she or he is making. Here we are on this most beautiful planet blessed with strong wind and lots of sun. Instead of taking advantage of these resources, we dig up the ground everywhere and burn what we find, gradually choking the pure air with smog and carbon dioxide. Atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide are up 30% since the start of the industrial revolution, and at this rate, they'll go up another 150 percent in the next 100 years.

The temporary electrical shortages in California aren't the real issue. This issue is how can we allow the sun's rays to go waste on a million rooftops, while burning fossil fuels as if there's no tomorrow?



Surviving Protests

After I returned from the WTO protests in Seattle, I couldn't sleep or concentrate for weeks. In Seattle I had seen a lot of "action": I'd been pepper sprayed, arrested and then "unarrested", run over by a horse, tear gassed, charged by cops, illegally detained and searched, lost my housing unexpectedly, shot at. But when I got back, I just couldn't figure out what was wrong. I heard explosions of concussion grenades in my sleep. Loud noises made me jump. I was tense and irritable. I just couldn't seem to get things back to normal. Finally, my therapist mentioned I might have Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

I had heard of it, but I thought it only happened to vets who had fought in Vietnam. It happened to "someone else." But in fact, it can happen to anyone who goes through a stressful experience.

And increasingly, battling capitalism is getting to be a more stressful experience. The state is scared and they are turning to more repression to maintain their grasp on control. The FBI recently listed anarchists as a major "threat of Terrorism" in the United States. Infiltration, harassment and intimidation are on the rise. Tear gas, pepper spray and rubber bullets at protests, once rare, are now common. Resistance is getting more effective and expanding.

Slingshot has in the past published tips on surviving at the demonstration. This issue, here's some info on what happens *after* the demonstration. As a community we need to take care of each other and our selves — both physically and mentally — so people can stay in the struggle and avoid burnout. For more excellent information, check out the website "healingtrauma.protest.net."



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Feel the Rage!

By Starhawk

In the many times I've been to jail, here are some of the overwhelming responses I've noticed in myself and which you might be experiencing:

Rage: Jail is simply the distilled form of the larger violence around us. Anger is a sane and healthy response, but you may find it deflected onto your friends and families instead of

becoming a force to divide us and cut us off from the very support we need.

Difficult Re-entry: It's hard to go back to regular life after the intensity of an action. It's hard to go home to a lonely apartment after the strong community we've felt in the action and in jail. It's hard to go back to a school, a job, or to any institution that suddenly seems like a softer-edged version of the jail.



A Call Healing

After experiencing an immobilizing injury in Quebec and to get a chance to debrief, I have a few ideas for a safe space.

Our action medics are doing a hell of a job in war-like situations a lot in Quebec City and were experiencing an amazing amount of energy leaves little energy for anything else. After first aid and recovering patients without taking away from medics time at the clinic, but as a patient I can say there is a lot of acquired trauma as an obstacle. Establishing a safe space shouldn't take away from that the ER can continue to deal with emergencies.

There also seemed to be a need for those who are injured to have access to phones for logistical reasons. A quiet space to meditate, pray, light a candle, rest, or speak with mental health professionals in order as well.

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2. Phone bank, logistical assistance to reach family, arrange for friends to call patients back.

Take a shower and scrub with epsom salts, bathe in the ocean or a running stream, wash your clothes. Do it with the conscious intention of letting go of the jail energy, of emerging renewed.

Renew: If you have a spiritual practice, now is the time to intensify it. If you don't resonate with spirituality, take time for what does

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Rage: Jail is simply the distilled form of the larger violence around us. Anger is a sane and healthy response, but you may find it deflected onto your friends and families instead of directed to the systems of oppression we're fighting. Warn your friends and coworkers to tread gently and not order you around for a while. Be prepared for flashes of rage, and try to remember who we're really angry at.

Self-Blame: You've been in a system designed on every level to make you feel bad, wrong, inadequate and powerless. The men and women who run it are experts in psychological manipulation and intimidation. They spend a lifetime developing their techniques—you had at most a few hours training in how to resist them. When you're in jail, you're constantly faced with decisions to be made with inadequate information under conditions of fear and exhaustion. You may make mistakes. You may end up complying when you later wish you'd resisted, or failing to act when you think you should have. You may make decisions you later regret. Try not to blame yourself. One of the ways the system functions is to keep us focused on what we, individually, did or didn't do instead of on the violence of the system itself. Self-blame is the way we take the violence of the system in, and beat ourselves up instead of making the guards and police do their own dirty work. And it rapidly turns into blame of each other,

becoming a force to divide us and cut us off from the very support we need.

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You may find yourself tired, depressed, unable to take pleasure in things you usually enjoy, vicariously experiencing the sufferings of all the oppressed and dispossessed. Food may seem tasteless, work or studies meaningless. You may lose things, get confused, and have difficulty functioning.

These are common human responses to loss, trauma and stress. They are not a sign of your personal weakness or inadequacy. Here are a few things that can help:

Talk About It: Ideally with the others who were with you, with your affinity group or with someone else who has been through a similar experience. If that's not possible, find a friend who is willing to lend a sympathetic ear, or a counselor. You need to tell your story, sometimes over and over and over again.

Rest: We've all put out a phenomenal amount of energy. Sleep. Take yourself out into a natural environment with trees and green plants. Lie on the ground. Restore your energy.

Cleanse: Do something physical and symbolic to release the energies of the jail.

Take a shower and scrub with epsom salts, bathe in the ocean or a running stream, wash your clothes. Do it with the conscious intention of letting go of the jail energy, of emerging renewed.

Renew: If you have a spiritual practice, now is the time to intensify it. If you don't resonate with spirituality, take time for what does inspire you and feed you, whether it's the forests, music, or the company of friends.

Learn: You've just received a priceless educational experience. You now know more about the underlying workings of the system we are fighting. You've had a small taste of the violence and repression experienced every day by the poor, by people of color, by those who end up in jail without the support of an action and a media team. You will never be the same person you were before this action.

Honor yourself: And all of us—for the courage, strength, and commitment we've shown in taking action, for the movement we are building together, for the ways we've listened to one another and struggled with our differences and already changed the world. I'm deeply, deeply proud to have been part of this action, and to be in a movement that contains such brave, committed and caring people.

Carry it On: Rage can be an energizing force. So can love. As hard as a jail experience can be, it can also be empowering. We can come out of it stronger than we went in. What we've learned from this action can move us into the next phase as we build the movement that will transform the world.

Healing

After experiencing an immobilizing injury in Quebec and to get a chance to debrief, I have a few ideas for a safe space.

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There also seemed to be a need for those who are injured to have access to phones for logistical reasons. A quick meditation, pray, light a candle, rest, or speak with mental health in order as well.

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Any comments, ideas, interest?

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Protests

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Summer of



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July 7 - 16

Wyoming, outside of Earth First! Roundtable. Earth First!'s annual

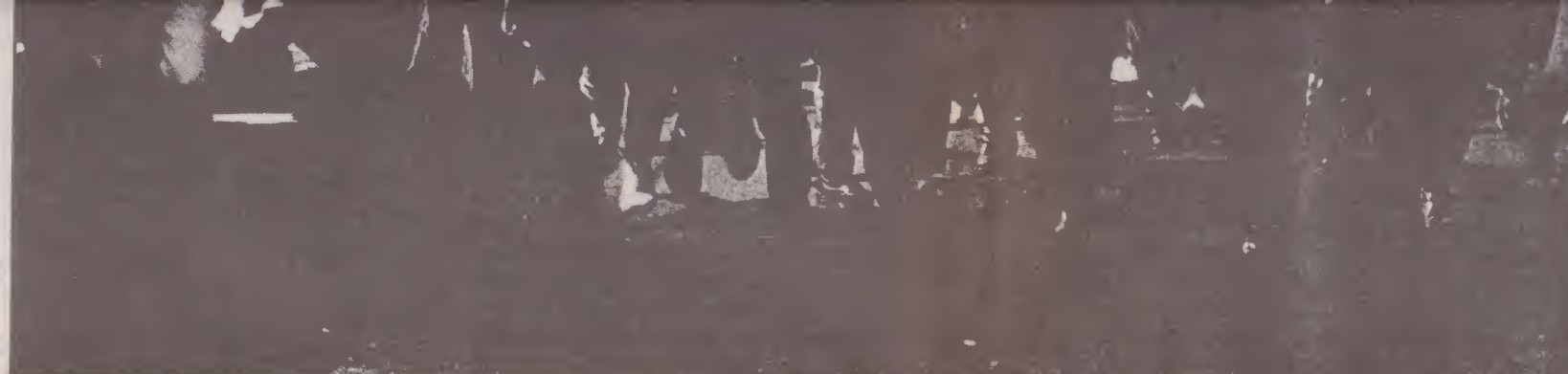
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July 19 - 23

Genoa, Italy
Border Camp

In July 2001 there was a demonstration at Genoa (Genova) during the G8 summit. It was an anti-racist and anti-globalization demonstration. It was organized by associations of immigrants in Europe. It was the days of the demonstration, during the new communication international level. www.noborder.org

A Call For A



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There also seemed to be a need for those who are injured, have lost their groups, or are in emergency situations to have access to phones for logistical reasons. A quiet space for anyone experiencing emotional trauma to meditate, pray, light a candle, rest, or speak with mental health professionals, spiritualists, or clergy is definitely in order as well.

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How To Post- Stress

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 - 2) Feeling "emo"
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Summer of Action

Schedule of Events



July 7 - 16

Wyoming, outside of the Tetons, USA
Earth First! Round River Rendezvous.
Earth First!'s annual gathering.

Strategize for the coming year and enjoy workshops/discussions on topics like nonviolence philosophy and training, direct action/protest, permaculture, forest-watch monitoring and bio-surveying. The site lies adjacent to the Little Greys River in the foothills of the rugged Wyoming Mountains, not far to the southwest of the Gros Ventre Wilderness Area. Be self-sufficient for camping. Site is at 7,000 feet and is cold at night, has biting insects, strong sun, etc.
www.earthfirstjournal.org/rrr2001.cfm
520-620-6900 or 406-728-2318

July 19 - 23

Genoa, Italy
Border Camp

In July 2001 the G-8 summit will take place at Genoa (Genova), Italy. We, the immigrants, anti-racist and anti-fascist organizations and associations of this town appeal to all immigrants in Europe to meet in Genoa during the days of this convention, in order to demonstrate, discuss and start building up new communication networks at the international level.
www.noborder.eu.org/camps/ita/index.html

July 27-30

Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico

A Gathering of anti-authoritarian collectives hosted by Kaos Collective, with theater, workshops, discussion, info tables, music (2 anarchopunk shows) and ending with a march to the American Embassy. Info/registration:
<http://www.geocities.com/colectividades2001>

July 27- August 5

Frankfurt, Germany
Border Camp

Border Camp of radical resistance to the neo-liberal racism of the modernized anti-migration policy-- even in the wealthy, worldly, multi-cultural Rhein- Main region. An important meeting point for different anti-racist groups and individuals.
www.noborder.eu.org/camps/ger/index.html

August 14-16

San Francisco Bay Area, USA

Women's and Gurls' Skill Share Conference

Three days of workshops ranging from puppetry and singing to basic tools and auto mechanics to sewing and herbalism. All of the workshops will be taught by people who identify as women and attendance is open to any gender or sex. The overall goal of the conference is not to teach specific skills in their entirety, but to empower women with some basic traditional "boy" (ie: auto

correlation between gentrification, the stockpiles of abandoned buildings in many US cities, and increasing homelessness. Other focus ideas include: land struggles around the world; the role of the WB/IMF and WTO in global corporate control; the growing prison industrial complex; the criminalization of poverty, and homelessness; rent strikes; and tenants' rights issues. 202-737-6444 #24
squat-conf@homesnotjails.org



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July 15 - 22

Genova, Italy
G-8 Summit International Action

Thousands from around the world are
expected in the streets to confront the
leaders of the world's richest and most
powerful countries, who will gather for a
meeting of the G-8. The "anti-globalization"
movement is growing up to become a global
anti-capitalist popular uprising!

www.peacelink.it/users/controg8/

July 20 - 22

Auburn, Alabama, USA
Southern Girls Convention

Reject the racist and sexist Southern Belle
archetype! Gather with women from the South
(and all over) for music, workshops on radical
issues, skillsharing and more. SGC, PO Box
2956, Auburn, AL 36830.
sgcalabama@hotmail.com 334-826-9573
(charlie) or 785-331-3068 (ailecia)

How To Recognize Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

1) Re-experiencing the event through vivid

anarchup shows) and ending with a march
to the American Embassy. Info/registration:
<http://www.geocities.com/colectividades2001>

July 27- August 5

Frankfurt, Germany
Border Camp

Border Camp of radical resistance to the
neo-liberal racism of the modernized anti-
migration policy-- even in the wealthy, worldly,
multi-cultural Rhein- Main region. An
important meeting point for different anti-
racist groups and individuals.

www.noborder.eu.org/camps/ger/index.html

August 14-16

San Francisco Bay Area, USA
Women's and Gurls' Skill Share Conference

Three days of workshops ranging from
puppetry and singing to basic tools and auto
mechanics to sewing and herbalism. All of the
workshops will be taught by people who
identify as women and attendance is open to
any gender or sex. The overall goal of the
conference is not to teach specific skills in
their entirety, but to empower women with
some basic traditional "boy" (ie: auto
mechanics, welding) and "gurl" (ie: canning,
knitting) knowledge and to "de-mystify"
certain skills. In addition to workshops,
discussions will be held at the conference
dealing with gender issues, sexism, your legal
rights, radical women in radical politics and
more. At CELLspace, 2050 Bryant, SF.
gurlsdoitbetter@gurlmail.com
415-587-4452

Month of August (but especially Aug. 18-31)

Vancouver, BC, Canada
Bike Summer, third annual

Bike Summer is an International Do-it-
Yourself Bike Festival where independent
groups organize separate but complimentary
events which come together in the Bike
Summer Calendar to be a Bicycle
Extravaganza! Bike Rides, Campouts,
Workshops, Bike Building, Bike Art, Film
Nights, Bike Ballet, Zany Competitions, Bicycle
Poetry, Demonstrations, Bike Radio and More!
The Dinosaurs Against Fossil Fuels invite you
especially to come snack on cars and party
down with them in this Orgy of Velo Love!
bikesummer@bikesexual.org

August 31-September 3

Louisville, KY, USA
Permanent Autonomous Zones Conference

The first annual conference about
Permanent Autonomous Zones, a concept
named by Hakim Bey and fleshed out by many



correlation between gentrification, the
stockpiles of abandoned buildings in many US
cities, and increasing homelessness. Other
focus ideas include: land struggles around the
world; the role of the WB/IMF and WTO in
global corporate control; the growing prison
industrial complex; the criminalization of
poverty, and homelessness; rent strikes; and
tenants' rights issues. 202-737-6444 #24
squat-conf@homesnotjails.org

September 28 - October 4

Washington, DC, USA
IMF and World Bank Annual Meeting

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and
World Bank will be holding their Joint Annual
General Meetings in Washington, DC from
September 28 to October 4, 2001. Huge
protests, both leftist and anarchist, are
expected, as well as the usual teach-ins, etc.
Protest and expose the illegitimate policies
and actions of the institutions and officials
who continue to claim the right to determine
the course of the world economy. Thousands of
global political "leaders", financiers, investors,
traders, pundits, etc, will descend on
Washington for the annual meeting to be met
by hordes of people and cops, and clouds of
tear gas!

wb50years@igc.org, 202-463-2265

October 5 - 9

San Francisco Bay Area, USA
Queeruption! 2001

Five-day open forum for queer radical gay
lezbo trans pervert labia-licker sissy
cocksucker thought provoker mover and
shakers. Round table, skillshare, poetry, art,
music, food, sex, party, fun, solidarity.
info: 510 698-2039 x 3181, proposals only 510
704-8323. www.queeruption.org;
queeruption@yahoo.com.

October 7 - 9

Center

and seeing (and experiencing) the need for injured activists
safe space for future actions.

ke situations to keep people alive. They saw and experienced
ng amount of stress. Dealing with severely injured patients
and EMS care, there seems to be a lack of care space for
time. Not only do injured patients become a burden on the
red guilt for needing ongoing help while knowing you are an
ay from the clinic. It's kinda like moving a patient to a ward so

injured, have lost their groups, or are in emergency situations
quiet space for anyone experiencing emotional trauma to
mental health professionals, spiritualists, or clergy is definitely

healing inclined, but not as action medic oriented) would be
r activists in need at future large-scale actions.

emergency care providers, healers? Don't want to take anyone

arrange health care and travel. Numbers where family and

o hospitals, doctors, bus stations, airport, etc. Transport

ncing emotional trauma. Could also be available to visit those

situations. Medical bills, food, transport, etc. Excess money

com



Thousands from around the world are
expected in the streets to confront the
leaders of the world's richest and most
powerful countries, who will gather for a
meeting of the G-8. The "anti-globalization"
movement is growing up to become a global
anti-capitalist popular uprising!

www.peacelink.it/users/controg8/

July 20 - 22

Auburn, Alabama, USA

Southern Girls Convention

Reject the racist and sexist Southern Belle
archetype! Gather with women from the South
(and all over) for music, workshops on radical
issues, skillsharing and more. SGC, PO Box
2956, Auburn, AL 36830.
sgcalabama@hotmail.com 334-826-9573
(charlie) or 785-331-3068 (ailecia)

How To Recognize Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

- 1) Re-experiencing the event through vivid
memories or flashbacks.
- 2) Feeling "emotionally numb."
- 3) Feeling overwhelmed by what would
normally be considered everyday situations and
diminished interest in performing normal tasks
or pursuing usual interests.
- 4) Crying uncontrollably.
- 5) Isolating oneself from family and friends
and avoiding social situations.
- 6) Relying increasingly on alcohol or drugs
to get through the day.
- 7) Feeling extremely moody, irritable, angry,
suspicious or frightened.
- 8) Having difficulty falling or staying
asleep, sleeping too much and experiencing
nightmares.
- 9) Feeling guilty about surviving the event
or being unable to solve the problem or change
the event.
- 10) Feeling fears and sense of doom about
the future.

Compiled by the American Counseling
Association. Reprinted with permission.

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dealing with gender issues, sexism, your legal
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The first annual conference about
Permanent Autonomous Zones, a concept
named by Hakim Bey and fleshed out by many
people in practice. This conference aims to
promote the institutions we are creating to
provide alternatives to those controlled by
government or profit-motivated forces. A
PAZ is any continuous space, group, co-op, or
individual effort accessible to a community
that is founded on anti-authoritarian
principles and autonomy within an egalitarian
community. Anyone interested in creating a
PAZ, improving a PAZ, or learning more about
PAZs in general, come on in. We are looking
for action-oriented people and not simply
"idea people." Pre-register: Conference PO
Box 4964 Louisville, KY 40204; include
SASE. www.infoshop.org/PAZ

pazconf@anonymous.tao

September 21 - 24

Washington, DC, USA

The People's Repo

Taking back our homes, taking back our
communities... Days of Action, Action Training
and Issue Workshops. The People's Repo is
about people taking back what they need &
about urban squatting; illustrating the

World Bank will be holding their Joint Annual
General Meetings in Washington, DC from
September 28 to October 4, 2001. Huge
protests, both leftist and anarchist, are
expected, as well as the usual teach-ins, etc.
Protest and expose the illegitimate policies
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October 5 - 9

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Queeruption! 2001

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shakers. Round table, skillshare, poetry, art,
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queeruption@yahoo.com.

October 7 - 9

Miami, Florida, USA

World Economic Forum global meeting

The WEF is planning on meeting in Miami,
primarily to assess the progress of the FTAA
negotiations. Let's shut them down!
rodentuprising@hotmail.com

November 5 - 9

Qatar, Persian Gulf

(solidarity actions worldwide)

World Trade Organization global meeting

In view of what happened in Seattle, the
WTO scheduled its next global meeting for the
tiny, politically-closed nation of Qatar. It may
be impossible to shut down the WTO in Qatar
(or even get there—only accredited officials
will be allowed into the country) so a global
general strike with thousands of simultaneous,
coordinated attacks on corporate/capitalist
targets everywhere else is the next best thing.
Start planning now to shut down your local
stock exchange, banking district, mall, factory,
mine, or oil field. The Global Exchange crowd
are suggesting a global "Qatar Flu" sick-out.

www.globalexchange.org

Zine Reviews

by Alix Zarf

Wild Children #2
Scott
545 Calle del Norte
Camarillo, Ca 93010

Wild Children is a cool personal zine. Scott is in love with life and writes about that. It's nice to know not everyone is cynical and jaded in these harsh times. #2 has stories on hitchhiking, train hopping and bike trips. A short piece on working in a daycare/preschool was the downer of #2, not that it wasn't a good article, just that it is depressing to realize how early our society starts to regiment our lives. I look forward to more issues of Wild Children. Send Scott a dollar or two for an issue.

Species Traitor #1
PO Box 835
Greensburg, PA 15601
#2.00/issue

Species Traitor is a new green anarchism/anti-civilization paper. While I share a tendency toward primitivism, ST was a bit hard to take because of all the editing errors and awkward language usage. Also, there were enough leaps of logic and misuse of terms to render many of the pieces unreadable. For example, in Kevin Tucker's piece he states "Nature is chaos". I was going to give him the benefit of the doubt by assuming he meant chaos in the Chaos Theory sense of the word i.e., chaos as self organization. But in the very next sentence he states "There is no order in the way things are...". This seems to me to be a confusion of

Green Anarchy #5
PO Box 11331
Eugene, OR 97440
\$2.00/issue greenanarchy@tao.ca

Green Anarchy is another paper from folks in Eugene, (they seem to have a lot of energy for writing up there). This issue has articles on actions in the Northwest, a reprint from

Arsenal #3
A magazine of anarchist strategy and culture
1573 N. Milwaukee Ave. PMB #420
Chicago, IL 60622 \$4.00/issue

Arsenal is a new slick comic book sized zine out of Chicago. This issue has articles on the Minnehaha Free State, a review of the TAO web site, and anarchists in the anti-gentrification fight in S.F. and much more. The Ask a Fallen Comrade column, in my opinion, should be nixed for lack of humor, but there are worse things than lack of humor. The article on anarchism and nationalism was thought provoking. Because many anarchists support "third world" and New Afrikan nationalisms this is a good debate to start; i.e., what is the difference between a State and a Nation? (And I would add, "Is a Nation the same as a People?") Also of note in this issue is Sarah Jane Smith's "The Continuing Appeal of Authoritarianism". This is a critique of the Fire by Night Organizing committee's pamphlet on the break-up of Love and Rage. The whole history of L&R and its aftermath should be required study for anarchists for finding out how not to organize.

The Black Clad Messenger #17
A journal of anti-authoritarian primitivism.
P.O. Box 11331
Eugene, OR 97440
\$8.00/year (7 issues)

BCM, as always, is full of news about actions from around the globe. There are at least six pages of action news in this issue. Also in this issue: prisoner news, a column by John Zerzan, a piece by George Bradford on the Limitations of Leftism, news of the anti-GMO fight in Italy, a reprint from the book Against Civilization and a selection from Kuwasi Balagoon, the late BLA POW. Also, a contact list of other cool publications and a listing of weekly events in Eugene.

Willful Disobedience vol. 2 #6
C/O Venomous Butterfly Publications
41 Sutter St. PMB 1661
SF, CA 94104
\$1.00/issue or \$5.00 for 6 issues(cash or stamps only)

A zine for anarchists with a brain. This issue has articles on biotechnology, "The Economy of Disaster", news of anarchists in Spain, Italy and Greece, "Against the Logic of Submission: Hatred". There is also news of actions, an anarchist prisoner contact list and more. Check it out and look for other publications from VB, particularly the pamphlet "This Is What Democracy Looks Like".

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I can only hope that the editing will get better. This first issue includes the articles "What is the Totality" by Kevin Tucker, a beautiful short section from Derrick Jensen's "A Language Older Than Words", "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism" from KKA, a column by John Zerzan, prisoner listings and several more articles and rants.

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Anarcho-Syndicalist Review #31
P.O. Box 2824
Champaign, IL 61825
\$15.00/4 issues

ASR is a 40 page journal of anarcho-sydicalist news, reviews and articles. This issue has stuff on the strategy of "boring from within", syndicalism in Siberia, a review of Thomas Frank's *One Market Under God*, an article by Lorenzo Komboa Ervin and more.

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Beirut in Cincinnati

Continued from page 3

One could also speculate about the role capitalism plays in creating a community like Over-the-Rhine, which is the most economically depressed in Cincinnati. Or one could muse on the role of "law and order" which appears to be sheer self-perpetuation, no matter how inexcusable the conditions which the watchdogs of state strive to preserve and protect.

A definition of terms: "riot" (noun) the assaults, property destruction and theft carried out by civilians. Certainly not the assaults, property damage and theft carried out by police (see "law enforcement").

In the aftermath of the riots, city officials scrambled to compensate business owners for broken windows, and declared it the "moral duty" (in exactly those words) of the government to help business owners who suffered financial losses due to general pillaging. One can't help but notice that this is the very first occasion that the city council members have spoken of their moral duty. Certainly the concept of having a moral duty failed to arise when Angela Leasure, Timothy Thomas's mother, confronted them demanding to know why her son had been killed. The concept of moral duty continued to slip their minds while police freely moved through the city, shooting men for holding their ground when ordered to step inside their houses at 8 p.m., and shooting 5-year-olds for the crime of being on the street in broad daylight.

By April 15, Luken felt that the city had been sufficiently "pacified" and he lifted the

curfew although not the state of emergency. After having poured all that money, time and energy into putting down the people, the government, unsurprisingly, failed to do anything meaningful to end police violence. City safety director Kent Ryan was forced to resign, in the hopes that he would bear the brunt of political unpopularity. The position was passed to Greg Baker. Formerly employed as Ryan's assistant, Baker is a conservative African-American man who seems chiefly concerned with suppressing bursts of anti-authoritarianism throughout the city.

None of the civilian actions frightened the state as much as the rebellions among black firefighters and police. April 16, half of the 200 members of the African-American Firefighters Association signed a petition to withdraw from Cincinnati's Fire Fighters Labor Union. "I was at the funeral for Tim Thomas, and I heard Rev. (Damon) Lynch and several other activists there say that it's time for black men and black women to stand up," Jeff Harris, Jr., president of the AAFA, said. "We have to stand up despite the fact that our lives may be in jeopardy. We have to stand up because we cannot continue to go on in this way, being treated like second class citizens within our own union."

Members of the Sentinels Police Association, an association of African-American police officers, soon followed suit, resigning from the Fraternal Order of Police. Sgt. Andre Smith, long disgusted by the racism within the union, reached his limit during

Luken's state of emergency. Referring to FOP president Keith Fangman's denials of racism within the police force (despite the many ties of the FOP to white supremacist organizations, Fangman has a gripe with being called a neo-nazi), support for Thomas's killer, and sleazy unpleasantness in public discussions with black leader Kweisi Mfume, Smith said, "After this week's events, to see Mr. Fangman totally distort facts, disrespect the black community, disrespect our black leaders, I felt it necessary for me to remove what I felt the personal stench of FOP membership." Scotty Johnson, president of the Sentinels, apologized to the family of Timothy Thomas, and made it clear that the disenfranchisement of the community was a long-standing problem which ought to have been corrected a long time ago.

The Sentinels and the African-American Firefighters have both taken a stand for civilian oversight of the police and fire departments. They are calling for the abolition of the city safety director's office, which is why the new safety director, Greg Baker, is so preoccupied with them. The Sentinels and AAFA also support an initiative which would open the positions of chief of police, assistant chief of police and fire chief to candidates nationwide. Currently these positions are filled from within the Cincinnati departments.

It is exciting to see police officers identifying with their communities against the police hierarchy, and even more pleasing to note their assertiveness in trying to rewrite

the script by which the community and police are stumbling along. One can only hope that this will be the seed for future rebellions and ultimately for the police fully identifying with the community and refusing to police.

Unfortunately, neither the rebelling cops nor black leaders appear to have been able to engage in dialog with the young people on the streets. Throughout the state of emergency, black leaders, predominantly churchmen, urged peace, pacifism and reform. They drew the attention of government officials and the media to the lawsuit filed by the ACLU and several African-American organizations with the aim of making racial profiling illegal nationwide. But there was a gap of understanding as well as a difference of tactics between the youth battling police on the streets and the elders addressing church members: "You're part of the problem," one minister told youth on the street.

The issue isn't "property-destruction: pro or con?" Rather, the issues raised in Cincinnati concern the ability of a community to use their resources to sustain and protect one another in the struggle against police domination. A good step was taken by the black firefighters and police, but a bigger and more transformative step would have been made had the leaders and authorities reconsidered the some of the values they were trying to protect. Does social harmony really require force?

**Give to the Smash
Capitalism Fund**

The Phoenix Rises Again

By Ron Jacobs (with Slingshot editing)

Those who do not study history are doomed to repeat it. A prime example is Plan Colombia, the US initiative to send military aid to Colombia to squash leftist insurgencies there under cover of the War on Drugs. The parallels between Plan Colombia and the Vietnam War's "Operation Phoenix" are notable and numerous, both actions relying on intimidation on the part of paramilitaries. And in both cases, the US was/is directly involved.

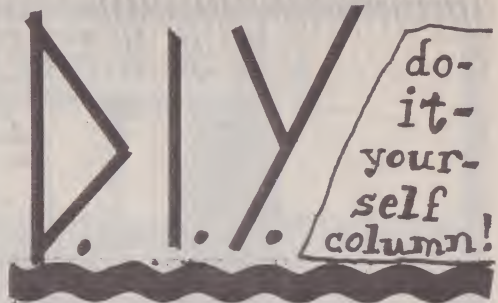
Secretary of State Colin Powell is on record as saying he supports the current policy in Colombia, but wants to "try to regionalize the approach, (and) get all of the nations in the area to recognize that the problem is theirs as well as Colombia's." What's left unsaid here is that the US intends to make it their problem whether these countries see it that way or not. The recent construction of forward air bases in Ecuador and El Salvador make this clear.

prisoners. They achieved their goals by psychological intimidation, physical torture, imprisonment, and murder -- all of which they learned from their CIA and US military trainers. Some of Colin Powell's early military career was spent in the jungles of Vietnam leading squads of these men.

Eventually, the various programs were coordinated under one CIA-managed operation known as Operation Phoenix. This program of planned assassination resulted in the deaths of nearly 50,000 Vietnamese. The modus operandi used in Operation Phoenix was further refined during the US war in Central America during the 1980s. By refined, it is generally meant that the methods stayed the same, but greater US deniability is created, usually by having local troops and agents commit the actual torture and murder. As for Powell, he continues to support this type of operation, calling it the "drain the sea" approach in his 1995 memoirs. Until recently,

these armies conduct search-and-destroy missions in the Colombian countryside, easing the way for the regular armed forces to move in and hold territory. In an article in *The San Antonio Express News*, it was pointed out that the most impressive offensive by one of the paramilitaries - the AUC - "has come in Putumayo province, which will be ground zero in the military phase of Plan Colombia - the place where American-made helicopters will land American-trained troops to do battle with forces protecting the coca fields." (1/17/01) In other words, this is where the Colombian military intends to begin its offensive against the revolutionary forces. It is no coincidence that the AUC has concentrated its attacks there.

It is important to note that the United States is not very supportive of the current peace talks between FARC and the Colombian government. This is because a negotiated peace would ruin their plans for the region.



Hey y'all! *Slingshot* is going to make this DIY column a regular feature! Please send us clear descriptions of any do-it-yourself project that's fun and/or useful.

Tinctures

Do It Yourself Tinctures

By Pixie

Tinctures are preserved herbal medicinal mixtures that can last for three to five years. More specifically, tinctures are an extract with an alcohol base, which works as a better solvent than water for some plant constituents. The concentration of the tincture depends upon the potency of the herb. Very potent or toxic herbs require a lower concentration than other herbs. When starting out at home, it is best to use only safe, non-toxic herbs such as dandelion, burdock, garlic, red clover, yellow dock, or mullein.

The ratio of herb to fluid used is 1:1 for fresh plant and 1:5 for dried plant. This is plant weight to liquid volume. Measure the required amount of your chosen herb into a screw top jar and cover it with a spirit, such as vodka. Keep tightly covered in a warm place while infusing, and shake the bottle well twice a day. You can strain the tincture in 14-28 days, through a muslin cloth, squeezing well. I like to let the tincture soak for a full lunation cycle. Store in a cool place in a dark bottle, to prevent UV ray damage.

Here's a recipe. Take eight (8) ounces (1/2



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It is important to note that the United States is not very supportive of the current peace talks between FARC and the Colombian government. This is because a negotiated peace would ruin their plans for the region.



If one recalls US involvement in Indochina in the early 1960s, there was also a push to "regionalize" that conflict in order to pursue Vietnamese revolutionary forces into their places of refuge in Cambodia and Laos. In Laos, another aspect of this operation was the hiring of Laotians opposed to the Pathet Lao insurgency to interrogate, torture, and kill civilian supporters of the Pathet Lao. It was the leaders of some of these US-created paramilitaries who eventually helped the CIA set up a heroin dealing operation. Since the

US advisors were supposedly only in Colombia to train members of the regular army. In fact, various reports from Latin American media have reported the presence of US "trainers" actually helping to carry out raids and other missions in the Colombian countryside. All of this was set up in 1991, under the tutelage of the U.S. Defense Department and the CIA. This was accomplished under a Colombian military intelligence integration plan called Order 200-05/91.

The role the paramilitaries play is one that

One cannot reiterate enough that the US does not want a settlement that would legitimize the revolutionary forces in any way. The only acceptable solution as far as the US is concerned is total victory over the rebel forces. This was clearly stated by the Pentagon well before Plan Colombia was put into action. Any other result would create a situation that would force the US to negotiate with the FARC and ELN -- something it is philosophically opposed to. A similar scenario arose in Vietnam in the early 1960s; much of

More specifically, tinctures are an extract with an alcohol base, which works as a better solvent than water for some plant constituents. The concentration of the tincture depends upon the potency of the herb. Very potent or toxic herbs require a lower concentration than other herbs. When starting out at home, it is best to use only safe, non-toxic herbs such as dandelion, burdock, garlic, red clover, yellow dock, or mullein.

The ratio of herb to fluid used is 1:1 for fresh plant and 1:5 for dried plant. This is plant weight to liquid volume. Measure the required amount of your chosen herb into a screw top jar and cover it with a spirit, such as vodka. Keep tightly covered in a warm place while infusing, and shake the bottle well twice a day. You can strain the tincture in 14-28 days, through a muslin cloth, squeezing well. I like to let the tincture soak for a full lunation cycle. Store in a cool place in a dark bottle, to prevent UV ray damage.

Here's a recipe. Take eight (8) ounces (1/2 pound) of dried Echinacea and put in a one (1) quart jar. Fill jar with a forty percent (40%) alcohol level spirit to top and seal. Label jar with herb, date, alcohol content and moon sign (optional). Don't forget to label, as an unknown tincture is wasted medicine. Recipe measurements are based on a general formula using pure grain alcohol such as everclear. Adjust the recipe according to the alcohol content of the spirit you use. For instance, if you're using 40% vodka, and want an alcohol content of 40%, no water will be needed, and thus the last two lines of the equation can be omitted.

Formula:

Alcohol content..... A ☐ %

Water content..... B ☐ %

Plant weight..... C ☐ g

Fresh plant H₂O..... B x C = D ☐ ml

(omit if using dry)

Equiv. dry weight... C - D = E ☐ g

Liquid volume {dry..... 5 x E = F ☐ ml
fresh... 1 x E = F ☐ ml

Total alcohol to add... F x A = G ☐ ml

Water to add..... F - G - D = H ☐ ml

This formula maybe a little confusing if you're not used to using the metric system. Although metric conversions are not hard to find, only use this scientific method if you're up to the



If one recalls US involvement in Indochina in the early 1960s, there was also a push to "regionalize" that conflict in order to pursue Vietnamese revolutionary forces into their places of refuge in Cambodia and Laos. In Laos, another aspect of this operation was the hiring of Laotians opposed to the Pathet Lao insurgency to interrogate, torture, and kill civilian supporters of the Pathet Lao. It was the leaders of some of these US-created paramilitaries who eventually helped the CIA set up a heroin dealing operation. Since the infusion of U.S. money as part of Plan Colombia, the role of the right-wing paramilitaries has become more pronounced. In fact, the numerous massacres of "suspected guerrilla sympathizers" by these forces (over 70 killed in the first 17 days of 2001) is reminiscent of the role played by various Vietnamese extralegal armies just before the massive U.S. military involvement in that country back in the early 1960s. There were a number of counterinsurgency programs operating in southern Vietnam at the time under a variety of agencies. Foremost in all of these programs' missions, however, was the isolation of revolutionary forces from the general population and intimidation of the civilian population to prevent them from actively supporting the revolutionaries. These extralegal forces were usually composed of career criminals, former Vietnamese Army troops accused of excessive brutality while in uniform, defectors from the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and released

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The role the paramilitaries play is one that supplements the strategy of the regular Colombian army. Indeed, some of the players are members of both. Sometimes the role is purely intelligence -- that is, gathering names of suspected revolutionaries -- and other times their role is much more murderous. To put it succinctly, the paramilitaries commit the war crimes that the Colombian regular army can't due to public relations concerns of the Colombian and US governments. Some officers were trained at the School of the Americas (SOA) in Georgia -- a notorious military training center that specializes in interrogation, torture and other "counterterror" methods. Many of those officers have certainly transferred their training at this school and by advisors in Colombia to their after-hours paramilitary activities. Human Rights Watch reports that at least seven SOA graduates are highly involved with the paramilitary. With the assistance and training of the CIA, DEA, and the US military and their private contractors,

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This formula maybe a little confusing if you're not used to using the metric system. Although metric conversions are not hard to find, only use this scientific method if you're up to the challenge. If this doesn't work for you, there is the traditional folk method, which just blows all the numbers away and leaves you to your own intuitive devices. This is especially useful when using fresh plant materials that are bulky but light weight. In those instances, the formula sometimes doesn't work out and the alcohol won't even cover the herb completely. I personally use a combination of both depending on what I'm tincturing.

Tinctures can be taken undiluted or with water or juice to mask the flavor a little. If a person does not wish to have the alcohol, she can place drops of tincture in boiled water or tea. This removes the alcohol without harming the herbal constituents. You can also try to use apple cider vinegar as a base, but it *must* be apple cider vinegar because the malic acid is digestible, whereas the acids in other vinegars are not digestible. Vinegar also helps drain the lymph nodes, and is beneficial both for arthritis and asthma, as well as seasonal tonics. Best of Health to you.

National Missile Defense

Visions of a glo

Continued from page 1

older triumph was achieved through a game of stockpiling weapons of mass destruction—weapons which both sides unfortunately had to withhold from using due to the uncontrollable magnitude of mutual destruction which would otherwise ensue. Now, through the technological regime of missile defense, that annoying limitation could finally be overcome, freeing the holders of power to exercise the full power which they hold. The same corporate entities whose hard work and Yankee ingenuity secured victory in that cold, static struggle, far from becoming Cold War dinosaurs, would be granted a new lease on life in this heroic bid to make weapons of mass destruction safe for democracy.

A brief history of missile defense

The concept of missile defense is not new. In the wake of World War II, the US Army conducted studies, code-named Thumper and Wizard, which suggested the possibility of using interceptor missiles or directed energy weapons to counter ballistic missiles such as the V-2 rockets which were deployed by Hitler's forces against London in the closing days of their Aryan empire. In 1956, development of a complex anti-ballistic missile system known as "Nike-Zeus" was initiated, with Western Electric Corporation as the prime contractor. The system was to employ a variety of radar subsystems to guide an interceptor missile which would deliver a megaton-range nuclear explosive to destroy the reentry vehicle of an incoming ballistic

rendering nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete". This complex program, known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), was to be centered around Teller's X-ray laser system. As he had done in the past when it came to big-ticket research items, Teller and his team had deliberately falsified and exaggerated their technological prowess: after 12 years of effort, the proposed laser system proved unfeasible.

In the meanwhile, the Army had continued work on hit-to-kill (HTK) vehicles—kinetic energy weapons that would knock a missile out of the sky. After several unsuccessful tests of the system, built primarily by Lockheed, the

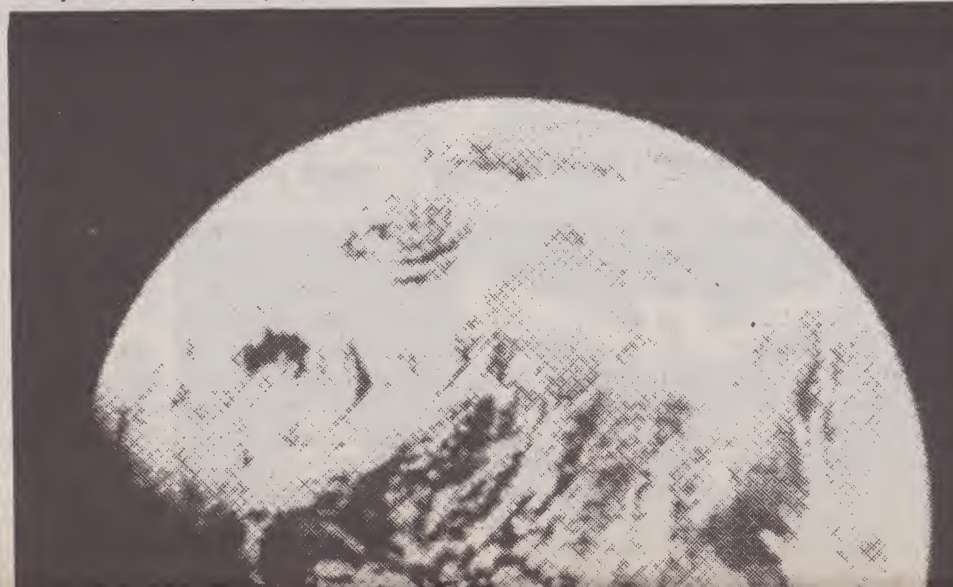
Scud missiles. The military establishment proudly issued claims of 100% effectiveness. An analysis by some MIT academicians of several celebratory videos showing the victorious feats of US military technology revealed that the footage which television viewers were led to believe showed successful intercepts was deceptive, since the Patriot missiles were designed to explode in mid-air, whether or not they hit or were near the intended interception target. In a subsequent report by the General Accounting Office, the effectiveness was downgraded to "unknown". Subsequently, the development of missile defense-related programs continued quietly,

to show for it, some would say. Now, G. W. Bush is pushing for a 240 billion dollar NMD program. This effort, just as those which preceded it, has not been without its critics and detractors.

One popular form of critique of this conservative program heard within the liberal establishment is the "briefcase critique" (a.k.a. poor man's nuke). The briefcase theory, while taking any missile defense system to be unworkable, holds that, even if by some miracle it did work, it still wouldn't do any good, since supporters of rogue states or terrorist organizations would bring their nuclear bomb into the US inside a briefcase anyhow. This theory and its analogues and variants stand in the long line of the "boondoggle" critique tradition, which holds that, whether it be well-meaning or sinister, the military is above all hopelessly bumbling and incompetent.

This line of criticism is often combined with concerned calls to the effect that an NMD program would spark a new arms race, as other nations would feel the need to counter the advantages which an NMD shield would provide to the United States. It is not generally made clear by the advocates of these critiques why other nations would feel this need, when NMD itself is claimed to be unworkable and ineffective.

A third point of criticism deals with the corporate welfare angle. Given that an NMD project would channel large sums of money to weapons contractors, it is suggested that perhaps this is the main, if not only, motivation



older triumph was achieved through a game of stockpiling weapons of mass destruction—weapons which both sides unfortunately had to withhold from using due to the uncontrollable magnitude of mutual destruction which would otherwise ensue. Now, through the technological regime of missile defense, that annoying limitation could finally be overcome, freeing the holders of power to exercise the full power which they hold. The same corporate entities whose hard work and Yankee ingenuity secured victory in that cold, static struggle, far from becoming Cold War dinosaurs, would be granted a new lease on life in this heroic bid to make weapons of mass destruction safe for democracy.

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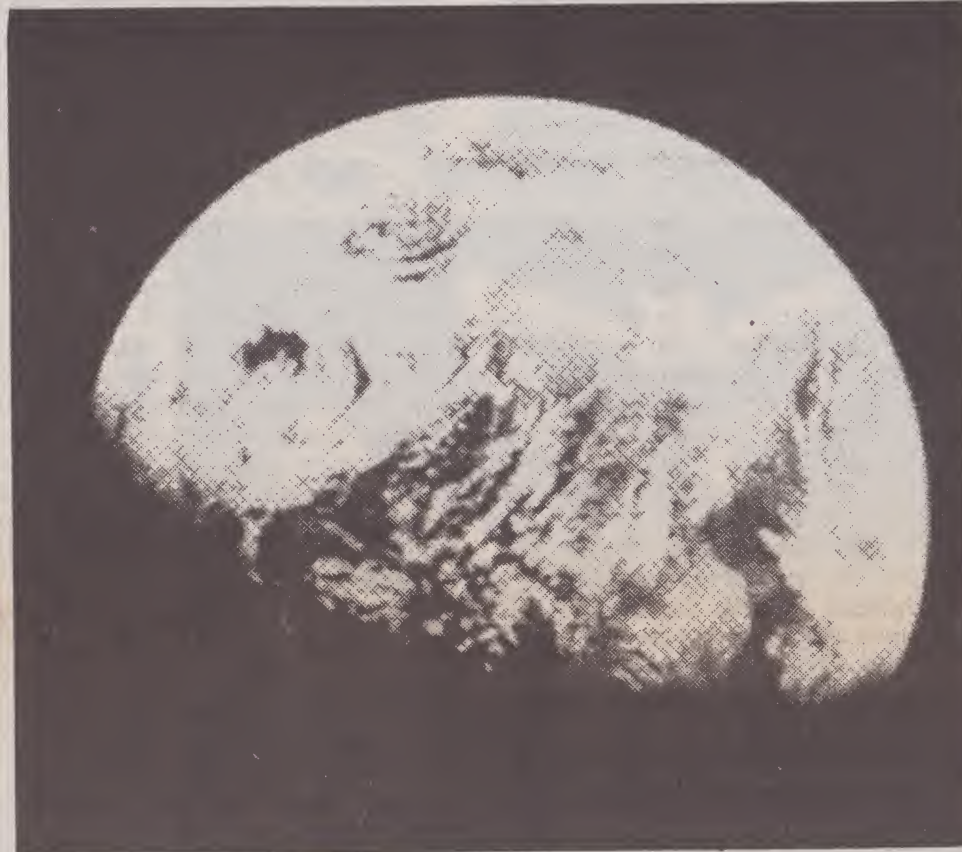
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Overall, with the technology available at the time, ABM systems and development efforts proved costly, and their effectiveness remained highly uncertain. As enthusiasm waned, in 1972 the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty was signed, which limited each side to two ABM installations with no more than 100 weapons each (reduced to one installation each in a 1974 amendment to the treaty). The Safeguard program continued on a more

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developers, desperate for a show of success and for continued funding, resorted to rigging the test procedure to ensure the desired results. "The test achievements vividly demonstrate the undergirding technical genius resident in our society", opined SDI Organization director James Abrahamson. He was right, in a sense: as long as the money keeps flowing, you're in business.

In 1988, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory shifted focus to the development of what was called "Brilliant Pebbles"—a network of

receiving some \$4 billion in annual funding.

The missile defense lobby continued its efforts, centered around the Center for Security Policy, a "non-partisan educational corporation" funded by weapons contractors and headed by former Reagan Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank Gaffney, which succeeded in getting missile defense inserted as a plank in Newt Gingrich's 1994 Contract With America platform. A report issued in 1998 by the Rumsfeld Commission, which was tasked with identifying ballistic missile

to show for it, would say: Now, G. W. Bush is pushing for a 240 billion dollar NMD program. This effort, just as those which preceded it, has not been without its critics and detractors.

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A third point of criticism deals with the corporate welfare angle. Given that an NMD project would channel large sums of money to weapons contractors, it is suggested that perhaps this is the main, if not only, motivation behind the project. This is often combined with concerns regarding the honesty of the contractors and strategists behind the project: since what they are after is personal gain (financial and/or psychological), they would naturally have a propensity to falsify the supposed threat and/or the capacity of their systems to deal with it.

These critiques all have some truth behind them, yet they seem more to circle around, rather than penetrate, the questions at hand.

The question of the feasibility or workability of an NMD program is a technically complex one, and more to the point is a question which cannot be answered without first delineating what the program is supposed to achieve. To cite a banal truth, what may not have been possible ten or twenty years ago may indeed be possible with today's technology or become possible with future development. It is likewise obvious that what

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Overall, with the technology available at the time, ABM systems and development efforts proved costly, and their effectiveness remained highly uncertain. As enthusiasm waned, in 1972 the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty was signed, which limited each side to two ABM installations with no more than 100 weapons each (reduced to one installation each in a 1974 amendment to the treaty). The Safeguard program continued on a more limited scale, and an ABM facility went into full operation 1 October 1975 in Grand Forks, North Dakota. The next day, Congress voted to shut down the program, and the facility was decommissioned after less than 5 months of operation. While its operational track record may be underwhelming, the Safeguard program did make one significant achievement: namely, the transfer of 21 billion dollars to the military-industrial complex. This achievement—one that had been made with various related programs in the past and would be repeated in the future—embodied the establishment of a pattern crucial to the continued operation of the military-industrial complex and the world system which it safeguards.

Star Wars

In September 1982, Edward Teller, the father of the H-bomb and the godfather of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (the US ruling class's main advanced weapons research facility), visited Ronald Reagan in a private meeting arranged by right-wing business interests acting through the Heritage Foundation. Teller informed Reagan of a device he had been working on—a nuclear bomb-pumped X-ray laser—which he claimed could be deployed in space and used to shoot missiles out of the sky. In March of the following year, Reagan announced the launching of a comprehensive program that would protect free people from the Evil Empire by

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In 1988, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory shifted focus to the development of what was called "Brilliant Pebbles" — a network of orbiting HTK interceptors. "Lasers may be useful someday, but meanwhile we must destroy missiles as David slew Goliath", quipped Teller. This program picked up on an earlier project from the 60's known as BAMBI (Ballistic Missile Boost Intercept), and was

receiving some \$4 billion in annual funding.

The missile defense lobby continued its efforts, centered around the Center for Security Policy, a "non-partisan educational corporation" funded by weapons contractors and headed by former Reagan Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank Gaffney, which succeeded in getting missile defense inserted as a plank in Newt Gingrich's 1994 Contract With America platform. A report issued in 1998 by the Rumsfeld Commission, which was tasked with identifying ballistic missile threats to the US, found such a danger emanating from "rogue states". The following year, Clinton signed the National Missile Defense Act, mandating the deployment of a missile defense system.

Work continues on an NMD system based on

Operation Desert Storm showcased the features of the emerging world system, particularly its military aspects: a multinational coalition totally dominated by the United States intervening to restore order completely unopposed and facing no ramifications, with its chosen viewpoint being delivered unquestioned and in real time through the corporate media into the brains of a spellbound home audience cheering in awe at the images of violent destruction.

finally terminated in 1996 after failing every test.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the urgency and rationale for SDI was substantially weakened, and with the temporarily reduced US defense budget, the scope of the project was pared down. The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization was downgraded to Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, and the emphasis of its work shifted to theater missile defense (TMD).

A boon for TMD came in Operation Desert Storm—the US-led attack against Iraq during which modified Patriot surface-to-air missiles were publicized as knocking down Iraqi

Raytheon's EKV (exoatmospheric kill vehicle), a variant of the HTK technology. Controversy has again surfaced regarding the veracity of the testing. "It's not a defense of the United States. It's a conspiracy to allow them to milk the government. They are creating jobs for themselves for life", said former TRW engineer Nira Schwartz, who was promptly fired for her opinion. (TRW, along with Boeing, Lockheed-Martin and Raytheon, are the primary contractors for the current NMD system).

Critiquing NMD

Over 100 billion dollars has been spent so far on missile defense programs—with nothing

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The question of the feasibility or workability of an NMD program is a technically complex one, and more to the point is a question which cannot be answered without first delineating what the program is supposed to achieve. To cite a banal truth, what may not have been possible ten or twenty years ago may indeed be possible with today's technology or become possible with future development. It is likewise obvious that what has and continues to fuel such development is the channeling of enormous funds and other resources for the purpose. In attempting to implement something organizationally and technologically complex and new, even with the most sincere intentions, one cannot know with

certainty that any given line of effort will produce a specific result, or what the whole significance of that line of effort will be. Thus, to carry on such efforts, the ability to "bilk the taxpayers" becomes more of a necessity than a luxury. Being able to maintain momentum and dignity—which under capitalism above all means profit—in the organizations pursuing such efforts is likewise essential.

However, these facts of military-industrial necessities cannot be presented to the public directly, as doing so could lead to a disclosure of the full range of purposes behind the efforts. To put it another way, if the potential (and inevitable) critics knew exactly what they

bal police state

were criticizing, their criticism could become penetrating and effective, thereby seriously undermining the efforts in question. But, lacking an effective critique capable of changing the object of its criticism, people collectively adapt to the situation by channeling their criticism and dissipating their forebodings to a straw bogeyman. The image of the terrifying ugliness of a society that even partially finds the development and deployment of systems of world-wide

Seen in this light, the situation may indeed appear somewhat surreal. It is telling in this regard to note that the cited facts and statements presented here have hardly been kept secret—many have appeared in prominent establishment organs such as the *New York Times*. Also published in said organ was a 1987 Joint Chiefs of Staff memorandum stating “The Pentagon should improve and update deception plans covering the missile defense program’s costs and abilities”. The

psychology, an expression of an ill-conceived vain wish to resist on one hand what one knows on the other hand to be all too inevitable. In a way, the advocates of this critique of NMD seek to broach the positivistic divide, to go beyond assertions that NMD is a bad move to a critical understanding that it is part of a bad game. However, under the immense pressure of existing reality, they fail to do so, thereby reverting ultimately to a celebration of the very world system which continues to bring forth the objects of their critique.

Rogue states

The debate over NMD as a whole shows little coherence, with various parties claiming whatever suits their particular political angle and interests. But one point which nearly all arguments seem to accept is the concept of the rogue state. The rogue state (now renamed “state of concern”) is the entity which poses the threat which NMD is to defend against. The questions of when, how and why it will pose a threat and what is the best way to deal with it are widely disputed.

The primary stated task of the currently proposed NMD system is to defend against a small number of ballistic missiles launched by a rogue state. It has been noted in this connection that a rogue who has gone to the trouble of developing a ballistic missile would certainly develop countermeasures against NMD (such as having the missile release multiple decoy balloons, one of which would

simultaneously providing a locus for people’s critical apprehensions and concerns to be dissipated through the external confirmation of their validity. The concerned liberal can find release for his concerns that there is something bad about NMD in the confirmation that there is indeed something bad about it—it can’t deal with countermeasures, or barring that, that the warhead is really in a briefcase—thus freeing himself from the need to delve deeper into the matter. For what is deeper is darker.

While an NMD system is a theoretically possible way to counter a rogue missile, given the diplomatic, political, financial and technical difficulties involved in its implementation, as well as the uncertainty of its performance, it would hardly be the most effective or plausible way to achieve such a task. Traditional methods such as diplomatically cajoling or economically incentivizing the rogue, or else delivering a preemptive strike against his facility, would be more likely employed for such a purpose. Thus, in this respect as well, the rogue state theory appears implausible as a substantive explanation for NMD.

The rogue state is more sensibly interpreted as functioning primarily as a conceptual device to provide some ground for rationalizing NMD, just as it has been used for rationalizing and justifying other unsavory aspects of US policy. Thus, arguments for and against NMD dealing with the extent of such states’ roguishness are essentially no different than the boondoggle theory analyzed above: they ultimately can only justify and

What protects the lives of Americans is whatever the relevant Americans believe protects the lives of Americans. The relevant Americans in this case are the institutionalized military - industrial - corporate - governmental - technocratic complex — what some call the ruling class.

annihilation necessary and essential to its continued existence and the promotion of its moral values is subsumed in the comic-book pastel colors of a fumbling and bumbling, ever so slightly risqué, king-with-no-clothes type figure.

Though it may occasionally appear to protest in proud and righteous indignation against this infringement on its dignity, this figure of the military-industrial complex of technofascist domination is in truth quite happy with having been cast in this clownish role—a role which it carefully helped to craft through its subordinates in the mind-control

intended overt effect of such publications is to verify people’s suspicions by substantiating the limited liberal critiques—the “yes, there was indeed some wrongdoing, but shucks...” type of thing. However, corroborating and thus rationalizing such suspicions in such a context produces the covert effect of derationalizing any substantive criticism which may go beyond the narrow confines of the corroborated suspicions and which could challenge the existing institutions and hierarchies of power.

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In the end, the difference between a solid technical system that protects "the lives of Americans" and an ill-conceived boondoggle, between hard-earned profits for the valiant defenders of freedom and corporate welfare, is a semantic subtlety. Thus, for instance, some liberal critics of NMD have sought to bolster their position by announcing how NMD does not live up to free-market discipline ("If this program were in the corporate world, everyone associated with it would be fired", states political columnist Molly Ivins). Yet the dynamic of the "corporate world"—in today's New Economy more than ever—reveals precisely the opposite of what such statements as the above seem to imply: so long as you manage, by hook or by crook, to keep the cash flowing in and the stock value (actual or anticipated) up, you are golden. And if you keep it up long enough, eventually you will have something real, whether as a fruit of your own work or through absorption of others' work on the capital markets. The market value of your stock is, however, a nominal value, defined solely in terms of market relations: thus, some ultimately disastrous consequence in the future, even if it is already more or less known, need not nullify your current stock value, any more than, say, the cataclysmic consequences of pollution nullify the market value of polluting enterprises. In this context, what protects the lives of Americans is whatever the relevant Americans believe protects the lives of Americans. The relevant Americans in this case are the institutionalized military - industrial - corporate - governmental - technocratic complex—what some call the ruling class.

Intended overt effect of such publications is to verify people's suspicions by substantiating the limited liberal critiques—the "yes, there was indeed some wrongdoing, but shucks..." type of thing. However, corroborating and thus rationalizing such suspicions in such a context produces the covert effect of derationalizing any substantive criticism which may go beyond the narrow confines of the corroborated suspicions and which could challenge the existing institutions and hierarchies of power.

The publication of such critiques thus serves the purpose of facilitating a psychological catharsis, releasing and thus effectively draining people's pent-up negative (critical) energy, which becomes subsumed in a dialogue that, in the end, can do no more than reaffirm the rightness and inevitability of the target of its critique. To put it another way: feeling so much better now from the catharsis process, the reader can more or less go back to normal—"normal" being in this case an ultimate acceptance of the existing reality of capitalist power relations of hierarchical domination and exploitation, both in the general sense and in the specific context in question (in this case, NMD).

It should be emphasized here that the problem with such critiques as the above is not so much their intellectual or analytical (in)adequacy per se, nor their truth value, but rather their susceptibility or conduciveness to psychological warfare. This entails, among other things, an inability to consistently maintain the insights gained and apply them in one's life activity. The thinking becomes compartmentalized into atomistic micrologies, and as such can be easily channeled into a controlled release. Having been shat out (cathartically discharged), the critical energy and insight is dissipated and turns to shit. Politically, for many people, this fecal character takes the form of the operational belief that there is no problem caused by Republicans that cannot be remedied by Democrats. This can be observed in the case of NMD, which has been portrayed and understood by many people as yet another crazed right-wing Republican militarism. Now, simply exposing such people to the fact that, e.g., NMD was signed into law by a popular beloved Democrat, would not generally shake them of their conviction. They likely have already been apprised of such facts, but are operationally unable to remember or process

will pose a threat and what is the best way to deal with it are widely disputed.

The primary stated task of the currently proposed NMD system is to defend against a small number of ballistic missiles launched by a rogue state. It has been noted in this connection that a rogue who has gone to the trouble of developing a ballistic missile would certainly develop countermeasures against NMD (such as having the missile release multiple decoy balloons, one of which would



contain the warhead). One of the elements of the Pentagon deception strategy referred to above is downplaying the potential significance of such countermeasures, such as by eliminating or minimizing the number and

facility, would be more likely employed for such a purpose. Thus, in this respect as well, the rogue state theory appears implausible as a substantive explanation for NMD.

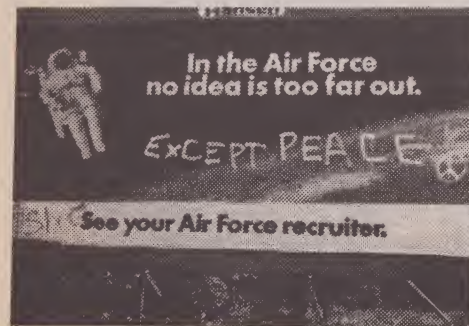
The rogue state is more sensibly interpreted as functioning primarily as a conceptual device to provide some ground for rationalizing NMD, just as it has been used for rationalizing and justifying other unsavory aspects of US policy. Thus, arguments for and against NMD dealing with the extent of such states' roguishness are essentially no different than the boondoggle theory analyzed above: they ultimately can only justify and rationalize the object of their critique.

Along the lines of the briefcase critique, it has furthermore been suggested that rogue states, if they wanted to deliver a weapon of mass destruction, would not use a missile even if they had one, since that would reveal where it came from and thus subject the rogue state to annihilation by the US. This line of reasoning assumes that rogue states or the despots who rule them are essentially rational in their behavior. While such an assumption is indeed borne out by the facts, it does not seem to jibe well with the concept of a rogue state, which is often understood as being run by a crazed evil tyrant gripped by an implacable hatred of the United States.

The crazed, tyrannical, implacable, irrational character of the rogue state on one hand and a pattern of rational behavior on the other suggests that the concept may have a double meaning. It has been noted that a person's self-identity—what somebody means by "I"—is not necessarily coterminous with the entire psychical entity making up the person. Certain aspects of one's personality, thoughts and behaviors, in particular those aspects deemed bad, may be externalized and effectively understood as being the property of something or someone else, of another entity distinct from "me" (extreme cases of this are observed in schizophrenia). In this way, it is possible that the concept of the rogue state, while being a designation for certain insubordinate third-world countries such as Iran, Iraq and North Korea, at the same time functions as a sort of geopolitical alter-ego of the United States, allowing the United States to externalize certain aspects of its activity and reinterpret them as being done (caused) by somebody else. This analysis would seem to agree with the widely observed situation whereby the United States unreservedly

sphere to the realm of fringe paranoids, thereby neutralizing it.

In the end, the difference between a solid technical system that protects "the lives of Americans" and an ill-conceived boondoggle, between hard-earned profits for the valiant defenders of freedom and corporate welfare, is a semantic subtlety. Thus, for instance, some liberal critics of NMD have sought to bolster their position by announcing how NMD does not live up to free-market discipline ("If this program were in the corporate world, everyone associated with it would be fired", states political columnist Molly Ivins). Yet the dynamic of the "corporate world"—in today's New Economy more than ever—reveals precisely the opposite of what such statements as the above seem to imply: so long as you manage, by hook or by crook, to keep the cash flowing in and the stock value (actual or anticipated) up, you are golden. And if you keep it up long enough, eventually you will have something real, whether as a fruit of your own work or through absorption of others' work on the capital markets. The market value of your stock is, however, a nominal value, defined solely in terms of market relations: thus, some ultimately disastrous consequence in the future, even if it is already more or less known, need not nullify your current stock value, any more than, say, the cataclysmic consequences of pollution nullify the market value of polluting enterprises. In this context, what protects the lives of Americans is whatever the relevant Americans believe protects the lives of Americans. The relevant Americans in this case are the institutionalized military - industrial - corporate - governmental - technocratic complex—what some call the ruling class.



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The line of argument that presents the military as bumbling idiots and revels in pronouncements of Bush's stupidity in the end constitutes no more than a defeatist



contain the warhead). One of the elements of the Pentagon deception strategy referred to above is downplaying the potential significance of such countermeasures, such as by eliminating or minimizing the number and effectiveness of countermeasures used during testing. This has the overt effect of making the NMD system look better and thus easing the obtaining of further funding, etc. At the same time, it covertly suggests that, since we went to all this trouble to misrepresent how well our NMD system can deal with a rogue state's missile and all, that must indeed be the whole purpose of the system—thereby obscuring and shifting attention away from what that purpose may really be, while

states, if they wanted to deliver a weapon of mass destruction, would not use a missile even if they had one, since that would reveal where it came from and thus subject the rogue state to annihilation by the US. This line of reasoning assumes that rogue states or the despots who rule them are essentially rational in their behavior. While such an assumption is indeed borne out by the facts, it does not seem to jibe well with the concept of a rogue state, which is often understood as being run by a crazed evil tyrant gripped by an implacable hatred of the United States.

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The rogue state, or some such other rogue entity, emerges as a shadow to the glory of the democratic capitalist order, revealing the dark chaos within that order. The holders of power seek to silence the rogue, to deny any validity or objectivity to his viewpoint. Only the

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National Missile Defense

Continued from page 15

technological systems of surveillance deployed by the global rulers of capitalism must be allowed to speak. And if they say ballistic missile attack, then democracy itself has spoken: let the annihilation begin.

Military-industrial globalization

NMD is a technologically complex weapons system consisting of many subcomponents deployed around the world as well as in space. As such, it is by nature a global system. Prior to giving his May 1st missile defense speech (which never mentioned the word national), the Bush administration sent out teams around the world in a major marketing effort to sell the US NMD to other world leaders. Despite accusations of US unilateralism and reports of steadfast opposition from around the world, there is little ground to conclude that other national ruling classes are fundamentally opposed to the NMD concept. A better interpretation would be to say they are playing hard-to-get in hopes of getting a better deal.

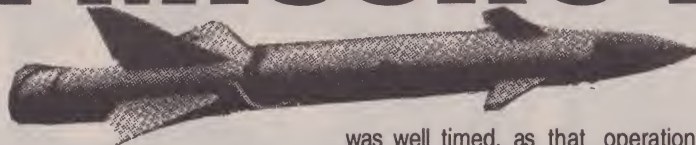
There is little question that NMD is going to be expensive, no doubt eventually exceeding the already high cost estimates. To spread out these costs, the US ruling class wishes to get support from other national ruling classes. In conjunction with this, there have already been proposals to rename the system Allied Missile Defense (AMD), which right-wing columnist William Safire has argued would be a preferable alternative to the European Rapid Reaction Force (a new Western European transnational military force, the formation of which was spurred by European concerns over US domination as experienced in the attack on Yugoslavia, during which the US used its satellite reconnaissance superiority to call all the shots while keeping its European "junior partners" in the dark).

The calls to withdraw from or amend the

increasing trend of militarization. This is of course a desirable outcome for the system's proponents in the ruling class, one which would support their quest for globalized systems of power relations that favor their continued domination. In the meanwhile, to diffuse apprehensions of a new arms race, Bush has announced unilateral arms reductions to be linked with NMD, following a strategy outlined by the Heritage Foundation, which suggests that "BMD proponents should begin to stress nuclear disarmament as a new end point" and thereby "disarm BMD opponents by stealing their language and cause".

Already, would-be competitors to the US project have emerged, with Russian President V. Putin making an offer last year of a joint Russian-European missile defense system in an effort to preempt and derail any future US proposals. Russia possesses a limited operational missile defense system as provided under the ABM Treaty. The response by the Bush administration has been to propose a US-Russian collaboration in the sphere of missile defense, a theme which was a central topic of Bush's meeting with Putin this June. The initial proposal, echoing a similar offer made 15 years ago by Reagan during the early stages of SDI, has been received rather unenthusiastically. Historically, Russia has been loath to rely on foreign technology for its defense-related needs, and will no doubt demand substantial concessions if it is to go along with this proposal. The proposal also included a US offer to purchase relatively obsolete Russian S-300 missiles.

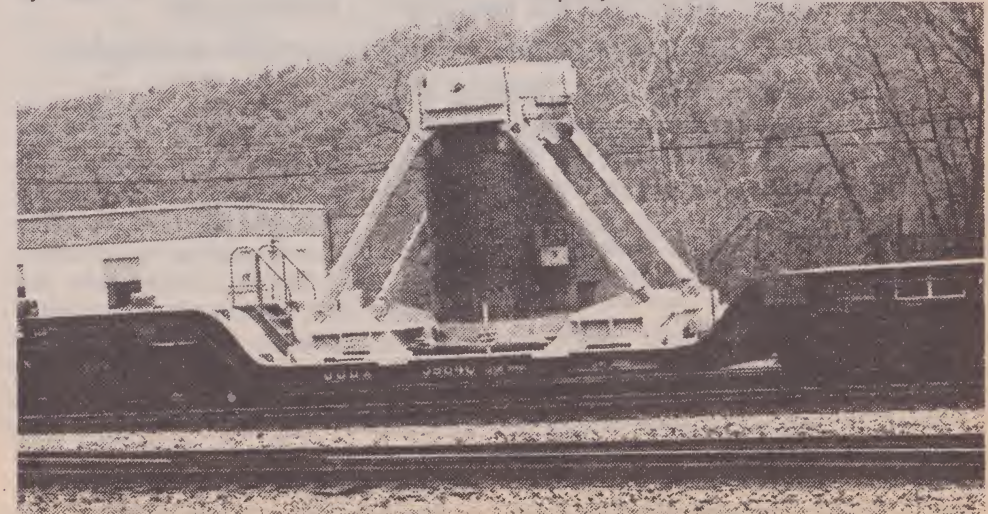
This move comprises several aims. First, by collaborating with Russia, the US military-



was well timed, as that operation in a way showcased the features of the emerging world system, particularly its military aspects: a multinational coalition totally dominated by the United States intervening to restore order (i.e. secure the interests of the transnational corporate ruling class and shift the regional balance of power in a direction favorable to continued US domination), completely unopposed and facing no ramifications, with its chosen viewpoint being delivered unquestioned and in real time through the corporate media into the brains of a spellbound home audience cheering in awe at the images of violent destruction. A key factor enabling the United States to dominate the situation was its control of information, including reconnaissance satellite data, media channels, monitoring and disruption of communication systems, etc.

defense", writes J. Oberg in *Space Power Theory*, a manual published by the US Space Command, the agency in charge of NMD operations (the first directive being to "ensure freedom of action in space and, if directed, deny such freedom of action to adversaries"). "DOD [Department of Defense] must have the appropriate capabilities to deny when necessary an adversary's use of space systems", noted Defense Secretary William Cohen in a 2000 posture statement. According to a study commissioned by the Pentagon, to gain such capability, "DOD must develop the means to control and destroy space assets (both in space and at ground level)".

Much of the confusion and incoherent argumentation regarding NMD as a program for defending against missiles stems from the fact that NMD is not essentially a means of missile defense. NMD is a program for the development and deployment of space weaponry, which may or may not be useful for

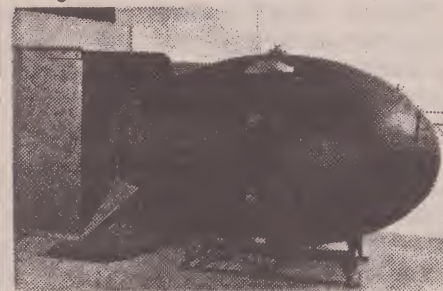


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US NMD to other world leaders. Despite accusations of US unilateralism and reports of steadfast opposition from around the world, there is little ground to conclude that other national ruling classes are fundamentally opposed to the NMD concept. A better interpretation would be to say they are playing hard-to-get in hopes of getting a better deal.

There is little question that NMD is going to be expensive, no doubt eventually exceeding the already high cost estimates. To spread out these costs, the US ruling class wishes to get support from other national ruling classes. In conjunction with this, there have already been proposals to rename the system Allied Missile Defense (AMD), which right-wing columnist William Safire has argued would be a preferable alternative to the European Rapid Reaction Force (a new Western European transnational military force, the formation of which was spurred by European concerns over US domination as experienced in the attack on Yugoslavia, during which the US used its satellite reconnaissance superiority to call all the shots while keeping its European "junior partners" in the dark).

The calls to withdraw from or amend the 1972 ABM treaty that stands in the way of the proposed NMD system, which has evoked concern in some circles ("it will ignite a new arms race"), are not an isolated effort intended solely to promote NMD, but rather form part of a greater shift toward military globalization. Thus, for instance, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Globalization and Security, a division of the Department of Defense, asserting that "globalization is largely irresistible", has found traditional arms control regimes to be no longer effective, and instead has advocated the need for "a new approach to maintaining military dominance" based on "transnational defense industrial collaboration and integration" through a "fully globalized commercial sector". Such "deregulation" of the arms industry would



allow US weapons manufacturers to merge

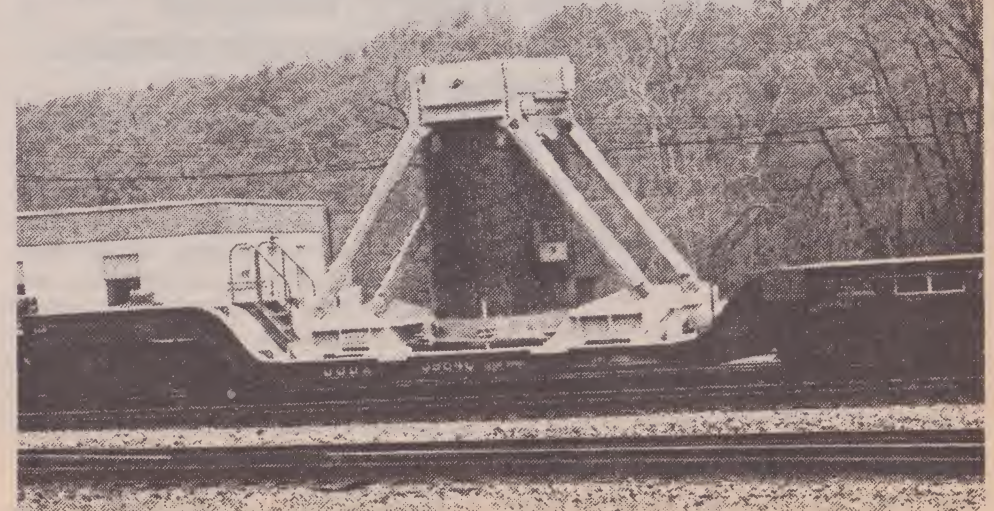
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This move comprises several aims. First, by collaborating with Russia, the US military-industrial complex stands to benefit from possible advances in Russian technology. Russia has been making a fairly strong, if underfunded, research effort in NMD-related fields, and has already transferred some directed energy weapon technology to the US. However, regardless of what specific technological advantages are gained from such a partnership, the very fact and precedent of having such a partnership is significant. Geopolitically, military-industrial collaboration with Russia would have the effect of preventing a potential anti-US alliance between Russia and China, both of which have an interest in countering US domination. After a series of talks, the formation of such an alliance has not made substantial progress, but the potential for it is there. Moreover, such collaboration would open up the Russian military industry for absorption into the better-funded US transnational arms corporations, thereby extending their market penetration and eliminating potentially troublesome competitors.

Seen in this light, the NMD program signifies the end of the Cold War era and the emergence of a new world order. The Cold War order was based on bipolar opposition of two competing systems of holding power, and

into the brains of a spendbound home audience cheering in awe at the images of violent destruction. A key factor enabling the United States to dominate the situation was its control of information, including reconnaissance satellite data, media channels, monitoring and disruption of communication systems, etc.



However, this operation also revealed some inadequacies of the existing enforcement system. Thus, for instance, while the US was able to secure international funding for this intervention and assemble a broad multinational coalition, the process created substantial tension with various "junior partners", such as France, who didn't like being junior partners and being forced to do things they did not necessarily find in their best interest, and who would think twice before doing this sort of thing again—especially after Kosovo. The operation likewise strained relations with more distant partners such as Russia and China, who stood aside this time, but in the end were rather troubled by the affair (and all the more so after Kosovo). Furthermore, assembling the military forces in theater was both logistically and politically complicated and time-consuming, increasing the chances for domestic opposition, especially if there should be casualties or a protracted conflict.

The first set of difficulties can be seen as stemming from the ad hoc nature of the operation, the parameters of which had not been adequately institutionalized—who is to say what the proper way to intervene against a rogue state is—and thus inevitably prone to be a source of contention. The implementation of an NMD system would remedy such

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countering certain ballistic missile attacks. Given the controversial, classified, and often uncertain nature of space weapon technologies, many of which may not yet be fully developed, missile defense provides a convenient political, fiscal and ideological cover for promoting and conducting the program. Thus, for example, in 1998 Clinton cut all funding for the KEAsat kinetic energy antisatellite weapon being developed by Boeing, while pouring billions into the NMD program, for which Boeing is the primary contractor and which includes development of the essentially the same weapon technology.

With current military operations already heavily dependent on satellite-based services, the development and deployment of antisatellite capabilities constitutes an immediate objective of NMD. Antisatellite weapon systems would furthermore enable a credible first-strike capability by allowing the operator to disable or delay an adversary's response, thereby giving greater leverage to the US's arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and freeing it up from the Cold-War era constraints of mutually assured destruction.

NMD furthermore envisions the development of space-based unmanned bombers, airborne and space-based laser platforms, and various other directed energy weapons, which, in

concern in some circles ("It will ignite a new arms race"), are not an isolated effort intended solely to promote NMD, but rather form part of a greater shift toward military globalization. Thus, for instance, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Globalization and Security, a division of the Department of Defense, asserting that "globalization is largely irresistible", has found traditional arms control regimes to be no longer effective, and instead has advocated the need for "a new approach to maintaining military dominance" based on "transnational defense industrial collaboration and integration" through a "fully globalized commercial sector". Such "deregulation" of the arms industry would



allow US weapons manufacturers to merge with and absorb their national rivals and freely deliver armaments around the globe in a manner consistent with free-market profit maximization. In this context, accusations of profit-seeking vs. concern for US national security interests become largely moot: US national security interests become institutionally intertwined with continued profits and expanding markets for US military-industry corporations. Consequently, such accusations can be freely published in the *New York Times*, as they no longer serve as anything more than harmless diversions.

Warnings of a new arms race are likewise deceiving, in that they shift critical attention away from—and thus affirm—the reality of the existing arms race. Across the world, in this "age of peace and prosperity", there are calls being issued and efforts made towards increased militarization, while wars continue to rage on an unprecedented scale. Thus, more so than sparking a new arms race, development of the NMD system will serve as a justification for continuing the existing and already

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Seen in this light, the NMD program signifies the end of the Cold War era and the emergence of a new world order. The Cold War order was based on bipolar opposition of two competing systems of holding power, and militarily was characterized by a thermonuclear standoff stabilized under the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. The new world order, on the other hand, is characterized by the global penetration of a

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single system of domination and the drive towards totalization of that system, and in the military sphere is driven by the need to enforce and protect that system through the institutions and technologies of a global police state. The NMD program represents an effort towards the development and deployment of the technological and organizational arrangements necessary for implementing such a global policing regime.

Elements of a global police state

G. H. W. Bush's declaration of a new world order at the time of Operation Desert Storm

intervention and assemble a broad multinational coalition, the process created substantial tension with various "junior partners", such as France, who didn't like being junior partners and being forced to do things they did not necessarily find in their best interest, and who would think twice before doing this sort of thing again—especially after Kosovo. The operation likewise strained relations with more distant partners such as Russia and China, who stood aside this time, but in the end were rather troubled by the affair (and all the more so after Kosovo). Furthermore, assembling the military forces in theater was both logistically and politically complicated and time-consuming, increasing the chances for domestic opposition, especially if there should be casualties or a protracted conflict.

The first set of difficulties can be seen as stemming from the ad hoc nature of the operation, the parameters of which had not been adequately institutionalized—who is to say what the proper way to intervene against a rogue state is—and thus inevitably prone to be a source of contention. The implementation of an NMD system would remedy such problems by providing an established technological and organizational framework within which an intervention is to be carried out, thereby codifying the intervention

process and eliminating the need to deal with the same problems each time an intervention is made.

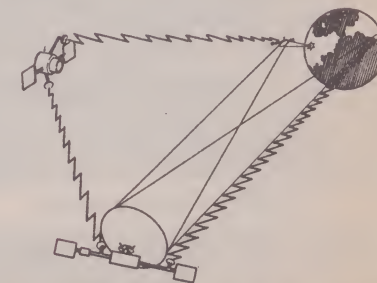
The second set of problems of crossing national boundaries and airspaces and of complex troop deployment can be substantially alleviated under an NMD program by moving the weapons platform into outer space. The militarization of space is a direct and primary goal of the NMD program. "...the means by which the placement of space-based weapons will likely occur is under a second US space policy directive—that of ballistic missile

missile defense provides a convenient political, fiscal and ideological cover for promoting and conducting the program. Thus, for example, in 1998 Clinton cut all funding for the KEAsat kinetic energy antisatellite weapon being developed by Boeing, while pouring billions into the NMD program, for which Boeing is the primary contractor and which includes development of the essentially the same weapon technology.

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NMD furthermore envisions the development of space-based unmanned bombers, airborne and space-based laser platforms, and various other directed energy weapons, which, in addition to possible uses against satellites and ballistic missiles, can be deployed against ground targets, allowing the more rapid and fine grained sort of response required for a global policing regime. "...space offers us the prospects...of inflicting violence—all with great precision and nearly instantaneously, and often more cheaply", expounded NMD advocate Sen. Bob Smith.

In addition to the annihilation of targets, directed energy weapons also hold the promise of more sophisticated aggression, including



or Global Police State?

weather modification and manipulation of living organisms. Such technologies could be deployed covertly, reducing the risk of public scrutiny. Furthermore, they would provide the ability to dissuade, degrade, torture or otherwise neutralize opponents without raising the moral and political controversy attendant to directly killing or maiming them.

The recently unveiled Vehicle Mounted Active Denial System (VMADS)—which the Air Force Times heralded as “the biggest breakthrough in weapons technology since the atomic bomb”—is an example of the fruits of NMD research. Marketed as a non-lethal crowd dispersal weapon, VMADS, which emits a wide electromagnetic beam, is intended to disperse and neutralize through inflicting burn-like pain, allowing torture without a trace, as well as degrading human targets through long-term side effects, and dissuading through the fear of the already widely published concerns about such side effects or of “the amount of time the weapon must be trained on an individual to cause permanent damage or death”, which is “classified”.

Full Spectrum Dominance

NMD is the primary program for attaining capabilities of “Global Engagement”, which the US Space Command defines as “the application of precision force from, to, and through space”. This is an essential component for achieving the overall US military vision of “Full Spectrum Dominance”, which together with other technologies and institutions of control, such as biotechnology and free-market democracy, is to secure the global dominion of a corporate master race. The logic of this machine of domination is insatiable: it can never have enough, and must continue to expand its systems of control into all spheres where power can be exercised. And therein lies its terminal weakness: beyond total dominion,

to the heart of the matter. NMD is not rational, or rather, it is rational or makes sense only in the context of the historical unfolding of global capitalism, which itself is not rational insofar as it is driven by the systemic inevitability of institutions rather than by the ideation or work of rational actors. And the nature of the institutions of global capitalism—of the free market—is such that whenever an opportunity presents itself, you have to take it, regardless of how idiotic,

One such category of products is of course ballistic missiles. While NMD is promoted as a defense against ballistic missile threats to you, what ballistic missiles threaten most of all is NMD itself, both in the sense that they represent a competing technology, a competing paradigm of domination, and even more so in the sense that the successful use or threat of use of a ballistic missile would greatly undermine the credibility of an NMD program, which has been marketed as a

indeed a major reason why they need to be in outer space: to protect them from briefcases. To put this in more general terms, a critical requirement for systems of enforcement or domination is that they be designed such that persons subjected to the system will, for technological, financial, organizational, intellectual or other reasons, be unable to disrupt or subvert the operation of the system. Such denial of subversion capabilities is to a large extent effected by creating a

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destructive or substantively useless it may be. It is the logic of inexorable, cancerous growth.

Thus, when the course of technological and organizational development becomes such as to enable the implementation of a global policing regime, it is institutionally inevitable that “players” will step forward to fulfill that role, to occupy that market segment—the only question is, who will get there first. In this case, the US ruling class has stepped forward, leveraging its lead in the fields of surveillance, punishment and incarceration and in the technologies of destruction and violent domination—even as its would-be competitors chomp at its heels, plying their own analogous

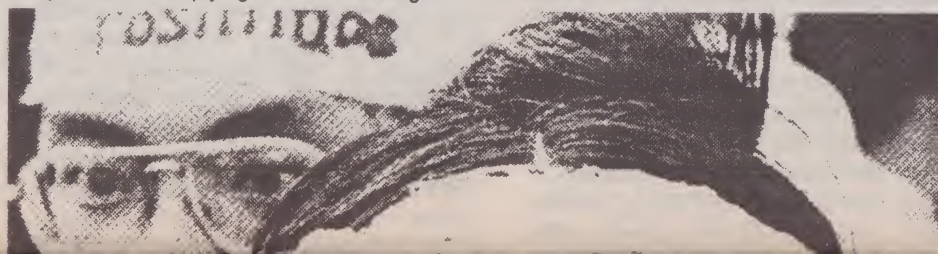
ballistic missile stopper, and possibly generate demand for a different approach, such as diplomacy. But given the present lack of a substantial ballistic missile threat from those states most likely to come under US aggression, an NMD program becomes plausibly marketable. The marketing of NMD, like that of other capitalist products, instantiates the psychology of commodity fetishism—creating a perceived need and offering a product perceived to meet that need.

Which brings us back to the briefcase critique. Although technically, using a briefcase could be a means for the terrorist

situation whereby persons wishing to go against the system, will act in such as way as to reproduce the power relations inherent in the system being resisted.

The enforcement of a global police regime may thus mean that such surreptitious deployments of weapons of mass destruction may come to make sense to some people as a viable thing to do, thereby reinforcing the global order of domination. In this respect the briefcase critique is valuable: it reveals that a regime based on the rule of violence cannot provide security from violence. Yet in its appeals to the regime, this critique belies a dangerous assumption: that the capitalist ruling class fundamentally does not attend mass destruction. This assumption, which buys into the hypocrisy of democratically elected leaders, is baseless. The market does not fundamentally value life, unless sold under patent as a market product.

The failing of the briefcase critique and other micrological arguments about the relative merits of systems of domination is



through space". This is an essential component for achieving the overall US military vision of "Full Spectrum Dominance", which together with other technologies and institutions of control, such as biotechnology and free-market democracy, is to secure the global dominion of a corporate master race. The logic of this machine of domination is insatiable: it can never have enough, and must continue to expand its systems of control into all spheres where power can be exercised. And therein lies its terminal weakness: beyond total dominion, there is only oblivion.

NMD beguiles with the promise of a capability to strike instantly against any rogue element that dares to oppose the institutions of global capitalism. Yet the binary image of the rogue as a mad, evil tyrant to be neutralized and destroyed or an unfortunate victim of circumstance to be incentivized and reformed—mirroring the nature vs. nurture, educate vs. incarcerate, liberal vs. conservative pseudo-debate of bourgeois society—fails to disclose the significance of the rogue state in relation to NMD and the world system which it is to secure.

Collectively and individually, we externalize our violence, our evil—the ugliness inherent in our way of life, in the structure of our society and world. How else could we go on living, taking ourselves to be good, upright people, feeling good about ourselves, when the world is the way it is? That ugly spirit falls upon those most susceptible, and they give vent to it through what we call an evil act. We say it is their fault, prosecute and punish them with a righteous zeal of denial, that we may go on feeling good about ourselves.

The image of the rogue state, above all, starkly discloses the failures of the world system, tearing open the façade of its advanced godly civility to reveal the hollowness of its claimed superiority and the barbaric chaos that permeates its order. In view of this, the theatrical struggle against the rogue becomes above all a struggle to protect the *relevance* of the systems of power which in their totalizing quests of delusional godliness can achieve no more than a lowly absurdity of contradictions. The rogue or criminal as such neither threatens nor resists the superstructures of the police regime—he exists orthogonally to them, mirroring the very power relations of the systems which he is accused of violating.

Once we see the real character and content

technologies of destruction and violent domination—even as its would-be competitors chomp at its heels, plying their own analogous

Which brings us back to the briefcase critique. Although technically, using a briefcase could be a means for the terrorist



wares. Given the global scope of the product, whoever is able to bring an NMD product to

delivery of a weapon of mass destruction surreptitiously and in circumvention of any

provide security from violence. Yet in its appeals to the regime, this critique belies a dangerous assumption: that the capitalist ruling class fundamentally does not attend mass destruction. This assumption, which buys into the hypocrisy of democratically elected leaders, is baseless. The market does not fundamentally value life, unless sold under patent as a market product.

The failing of the briefcase critique and other micrological arguments about the relative merits of systems of domination is that they reinforce the sense of inevitability of some such system. And while the fascist police program of NMD is correctly viewed as an inevitable extension of the institutions that blindly drive the machine of global capitalism, those institutions themselves are not inevitable.

Resistance, when misdirected in accordance with the requirements of existing power hierarchies, is futile. Such resistance is allowed and even encouraged under capitalist democracy. Yet resistance guided by radical insight is effective: such resistance is outlawed and brutally persecuted through technocratic enforcement systems. We must understand the nature of our freedom, that we may become free. Our freedom is a system, floating in space...

The paradigm of policing necessarily entails a counter-element which is to be policed, prosecuted and punished: an offender, a criminal, a rogue state. The contradictions of such a paradigm reveal that crime cannot be prevented by policing, educating, or through any other special measure, but only by creating the conditions under which it need not occur: a healthy, cohesive community living in harmony with its environment and thus with itself. Many such diverse communities can collectively form a healthy, cohesive, peaceful global community of people. At all cost, we must not lose sight that such a community is possible.

Yet such a vision can be valid only insofar as it reveals and implements the historical process of its attainment—otherwise, it devolves into an illusion. The epitome of capitalism is the eradication of objectivity—of people's objective history-making capabilities. It has no vision of a community of people and offers as its end point only the subordination of all human activity to a violent institutionalized hierarchy of market relations enforced by a global police state apparatus.

So do we need NMD? In our public dialogue,

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Once we see the real character and content of an NMD program, it becomes clear that the race to establish an NMD regime of global surveillance and punishment is fundamentally not an effort to fend off rogue states or achieve any other specific practical purpose: the purpose of NMD is NMD. Thus, rational arguments and critiques about why NMD would not work or how it is not the best way to achieve a given purpose necessarily fail to get



wares. Given the global scope of the product, whoever is able to bring an NMD product to market first stands to capture overwhelming if not total market share, thereby squeezing out the competition and establishing monopoly control. In this context, any party that for whatever reason is willing and able to develop and deploy competing products threatens the monopoly. In this respect, the distinction between rogue and non-rogue states is spurious.

delivery of a weapon of mass destruction surreptitiously and in circumvention of any missile defense system, such a delivery would not generally be effective as a counteraction or direct challenge to the system of global enforcement provided under the NMD program, unless it specifically targeted and destroyed components of the NMD system. This, however, would for the most part be rather difficult to do with a briefcase, since those components are in outer space—which is

inevitable extension of the institutions that blindly drive the machine of global capitalism, those institutions themselves are not inevitable.

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So do we need NMD? In our public dialogue, the question seems to be answered by focusing on some aspect of what NMD is, what it can or cannot do, what its ramification will be. Yet in some ways, the answer depends more on who "we" are. If we are the US capitalist ruling class, which seeks above all to propagate and perpetuate its dominion, we need it badly. To say no to NMD, we must say no to capitalism. Otherwise, our voice has no meaning.

MATTOLE FOREST DEFENSE

Continued from page 1

of the pioneer work in stream restoration has been carried out in the Mattole. Further logging would damage what little clean-water habitat remains.

Eight Timber Harvest Plans (THPs) totaling over 400 acres have been making their way through the approval bureaucracy. According to a map prepared by the Mattole Restoration Council, 91 percent of the old growth forests in the Mattole watershed were cut between 1947 and 1988. Of the 9 percent remaining, the largest block is in the Lower North Fork of the Mattole, in the area known as the Rainbow Ridge. Large contiguous blocks are especially important because they insulate the creatures that inhabit them from the edges of the forest.

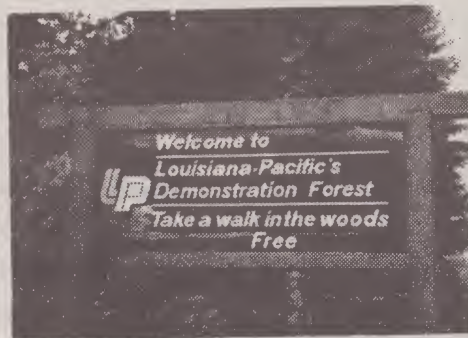
Before cutting restarted, activists had occupied the forest continuously since late November, spurred by a brief logging spree that month. The raids on the activists' deep woods camp, where they had erected bipods, "sleeping dragon" lockdowns, tree sits and other blockades, began in earnest in April, with loggers and Department of Fish and Game (DFG) poacher trackers assisting the Humboldt County Sheriffs Department.

The DFG trackers, brought in from Siskiyou county where they normally chase bear poachers, chased two activists off a cliff. One fell about 40 feet and had to be airlifted out to the hospital. The other, a first time forest defender from Toronto, Canada, is still hobbling around on crutches suffering from tendon damage.

Humboldt residents are urging the County Board of Supervisors to send human rights monitors into the forest during protests. On more than one occasion, men from Lewis Logging, a contractor with PL, cut sitters out of trees, after taking their water, food and shoes, without law enforcement even being present.

at what's going on in the world."

In a further attack on its critics, PL filed a lawsuit on April 6 against "North Coast Earth First!" "Mattole Forest Defenders", 18 individuals, and "Jane and John Does 1 - 200". Many of those Does have since been added as



real people, as PL serves those being released from jail on trespass charges. The parents of the Americorps teenagers have also been served.

This lawsuit is a "SLAPP suit" (Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation) — it seeks to punish citizens who protest the activities of corporations seen as threatening or damaging to them, their community, and the environment. By suing in civil Court, activists are forced to spend scarce time and resources on lawyers, not in the forests. The suit is clearly designed to quash dissent and protest against PL.

Pacific Lumber is also seeking to get an injunction against the protesters named in the lawsuit. The Mattole, the "Hole in the Headwaters", and other endangered old growth forest are regarded as the sacrifice zones of the Headwaters Deal that Maxxam (the corporate parent of PL) negotiated with the government two years ago: Maxxam/PL is able to log sensitive areas under the so-called Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) and



Continued from page 1

time the IMF/World Bank met in Washington, delegates had to wake up at 3 a.m. to take buses escorted by hordes of police to circumvent activist blockades.

Given this context — what an opportunity to have the IMF/World Bank meet right in Washington, DC. The leaders of the neoliberal project will have to make the impossible choice between almost certain disruption of their meeting, or turning the capital of the "free world" to an armed camp. Either way, they lose the most important battle, that for political hegemony.

Because the Battle of Washington is impossible for the IMF/World Bank to win, it is the most important confrontation of the year for opponents of capitalist domination. Everyone reading this article is strongly encouraged to get time off work September 28 - October 4, buy a plane ticket to Washington DC, organize your friends, family and neighbors, and help turn this opportunity to a legendary defeat for the neoliberal project.

The battle for political hegemony is the kind of battle where those in power have everything to lose, and one in which they are vulnerable

police and the legal system.

Hegemony means that those in power — essentially the whole capitalist/political structure — get to define the subjects of discussion, the limits of debate, and the rules of the game. The essential rules are that the market regulates everything, profit and money are the sole human motivation, economic "growth" is continuous and is the goal of everything. Acceptable topics of discussion and debate within the "democratic" political process are limited to "more regulation / less regulation" "welfare state / privatization" "schools or prisons." Discussions about alternatives to the whole system are simply off the radar: not discussed, not featured in the media, invisible. In subtle and not so subtle ways, the legitimacy of the systems' basic assumptions are reinforced through debate on "acceptable" topics in the "democratic" political process, the media, education, and every other facet of modern life. Dissent that posits alternatives outside of the "acceptable" field of debate appears not to exist.

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Humboldt residents are urging the County Board of Supervisors to send human rights monitors into the forest during protests. On more than one occasion, men from Lewis Logging, a contractor with PL, cut sitters out of trees, after taking their water, food and shoes, without law enforcement even being present.

Sheriff's deputies have burned materials seized in their ransacking, including plastic tarps, buckets and sleeping bags. As of June 1, there have been 33 arrests in the Mattole since logging began on May 9; 52 since November. Those arrested in April are getting through their court proceedings, and some face inordinately stiff sentences.

On May 23, two activists were sentenced after being found guilty of trespass and resisting arrest ("resisting" usually simply means one is engaged in a lockdown, using a bicycle lock or a "black bear" metal sleeve device) to 30 days and 120 days in jail.

David Werher, a Bay Area activist and Americorps volunteer, is facing trumped up felony child endangerment charges after eight teenagers enrolled in the Urban Pioneer Program at San Francisco Unified School District were arrested on trespass charges in the Mattole area. They had traveled to the Mattole on a school-sanctioned field trip with parental permission to experience this stunning old growth forest and learn about salmon restoration efforts on the river. Werher is facing a stiff prison sentence, although one parent was quoted in the newspaper as saying about her son, "Any danger he was in was from the loggers, the

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Forest defenders in Humboldt need material and financial support, publicity and public pressure for their cause, and reinforcements. Consider spending part of your summer agitating for the ancient trees in the city of Sacramento, or coming up to Humboldt County. For more information on how you can get involved contact the Bay Area Coalition for Headwaters located at the Ecology Center building in Berkeley: Headwaters Hotline 510-835-6303 and/or subscribe to the BACH listserve (specific to Northcoast old growth forest issues and related events in the Bay Area — no deluges of email). To subscribe, send an email msg to listproc@envirolink.org. In the text of the message put subscribe BACHlist followed by your email address followed by your name (no commas). Excellent coverage is available on the web at the San Francisco Indy Media site: www.indybay.org and Mattole Forest Defense site: www.mattoledefense.org.

Up north contact: Mattole Forest

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Continued on page 19

MORE BLACKOUT FUN!

Continued from page 1

without television and their constant intervention and repression, you might not even know they exist. Rulers hate being irrelevant.

Because of the prevalence of ATM machines and credit cards, when the electricity goes out, money itself practically ceases to exist. You can't buy and they can't sell. The most crucial activity of the whole earth-eating machine falls strangely silent.

When complex, national systems like the power grid fail, people get the chance to see that they can function just fine, thank you very much, with *the simple things in life*, without the bureaucracy and control the rulers claim is necessary "for your own good."

The industrial revolution, followed by the plastic age, followed by the high-tech

information to go on a rampage.

Hearing this, it's hard to picture your typical burglar planning their schedule and their target community so rationally. Clearly, what the government is really worried about is *the anarchists!* For example, a rolling blackout in San Jose, given enough warning and planning by Food Not Bombs, etc., might lead to a full-on insurrection. Rolling blackouts aren't a problem—they're a treat and an opportunity! Like an accidental, government/corporate created temporary autonomous zone!

Our house is already experimenting with blackouts to get used to them and be ready for the tremendous opportunities blackouts bring. We started by turning the power off for a few hours, then trying it for a few days. It's easy to do. Find the master circuit

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The industrial revolution, followed by the plastic age, followed by the high-tech revolution haven't exactly caused mass elated happiness amongst the populace. Comparing a boring, controlled life of toil, consumption and isolation (run by electricity) against the real, lived experience of direct community and harmony with nature, the population may decide they want the electricity *kept off*.

Imagine if the blackouts lasted longer than an hour. Instead of office workers sitting around bored waiting for their computers to come back on, they would start thinking about other better ways to occupy and organize their time. Talking together would lead to empowerment and questioning the techno-corporate order.

Blackouts are a tremendous opportunity for organization, mass education, agitation and action. As this is written, a significant discussion amongst the rulers is whether they should offer any warning before power is shut off in a rolling blackout. Proponents of warning argue it would permit companies to start back-up generators and avoid "data loss." The main argument against advanced warning is that criminals would use this

information to go on a rampage.

Hearing this, it's hard to picture your typical burglar planning their schedule and their target community so rationally. Clearly, what the government is really worried about is *the anarchists!* For example, a rolling blackout in San Jose, given enough warning and planning by Food Not Bombs, etc., might lead to a full-on insurrection. Rolling blackouts aren't a problem—they're a treat and an opportunity! Like an accidental, government/corporate created temporary autonomous zone!

Our house is already experimenting with blackouts to get used to them and be ready for the tremendous opportunities blackouts bring. We started by turning the power off for a few hours, then trying it for a few days. It's easy to do. Find the master circuit breaker in the basement and you can turn off the whole house at once!

We suggest putting together "rolling blackout kits" and distributing them around the neighborhood along with some good anarchist texts about mutual aid, how to organize an affinity group, etc. Kits could include everything you need to really *enjoy* a blackout: a candle and a good book, condoms, lube and a vibrator (solar), spooky stories for telling after dark, a frisbee, magic mushrooms, and pen and paper for plotting revolution and/or how to demolish the eco-wrecking corporations in the neighborhood.

There are also good games you can play and excellent alternative spectator sports you can watch during a blackout. Go out to the corner to play "watch the SUVs trying to get through the gridlocked intersection." You sit on the sidewalk eating popcorn and score the contestants with number cards like at a diving meet. The grand prize is awarded when everyone abandons their SUVs, their computer office jobs, their isolated air conditioned lives and re-learns how to live free.

the IMF/World Bank: it's a Rigged Market

Continued from page 18

confirm that "everything is fine" and "economic growth continues to make life better", the system's hegemony is rudely disturbed by events which overwhelm the system's definitions of "reality."

Scenes of Washington DC, the center of "freedom" and "free speech", surrounded by razor wire, of police dressed as storm troopers firing tear gas at fleeing crowds, of thousands, hands raised above their heads, marched to detention centers at the points of bayonets as the city burns. All of these scenes impossible to ignore because all of the heads of the world's government have gathered in one city for the world's most important annual meeting. No matter how the spin doctors attempt to explain these images and fit them into the "acceptable" limits of debate, these are the scenes that form a question in people's minds.

"Why?"

"If the whole point of globalization is to promote freedom, how come it's run in private, by and for corporations, and must be protected behind an iron fenced police state?"

It's up to us to force the question to be posed. There are damn few opportunities available these days to give capitalist hegemony a rude awakening. There are likely to be even fewer in the future if the world's trade ministers like Qatar's weather.

If we're successful, the next stage is to begin answering the question and promoting discussion outside hegemony in millions of much less dramatic moments, in thousands of communities across the globe. The last two years have shown that over-emphasis on

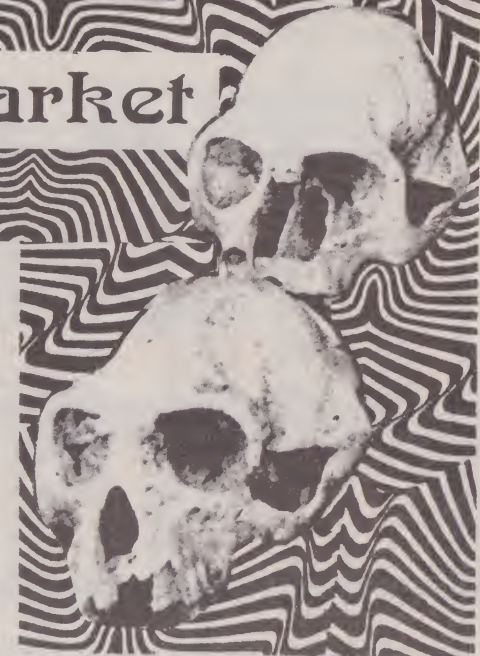
poverty" in the developing world. The IMF/World Bank claim that because they are promoting *development*, they are working against poverty. But the development promoted by these bodies is designed to benefit multi-national corporations and capitalist/industrial world domination, not regular folks. The inevitable result of IMF/World Bank development is *less* freedom, *less* self-sufficiency, more environmental degradation, more vulnerability to unpredictable markets and more power for the few over the many.

The IMF/World Bank are like international loan sharks that prey on the world's weakest nations. Funded by the world's richest countries, they exist to perpetuate colonialism into the new millennium. Typically, the IMF/World Bank identifies capital intensive development projects like roads, dams and electrical infrastructure in relatively un-industrialized countries. Without this infrastructure, global capitalism, and its representatives — multinational corporations — are unable to make use of a poor nation's cheap labor, natural resources and markets.

The IMF/World bank then "helps" the poor nation by loaning money to build these projects. Corrupt, authoritarian local governments have a keen interest in getting the loans. Big projects often permit these governments to skim millions into private bank accounts through bribes and sweetheart construction contracts. Much of the rest of the benefits of these projects are directed to corporate interests outside the developing nation. Most of the material, machines and experience needed to build dams, roads and power grids are imported from the same rich nations making the loans in the first place. Once these

SAPs are intended to create "favorable" economic conditions to spur capitalist growth in the target nation's economy so that it can pay its debts. In a typical case, a country agrees to devalue its currency, open its markets to foreign products and services, cut government subsidies for food, energy transit, etc. and sell government held utilities, factories, mines and oil companies to foreigners.

The SAPs may increase debt repayment because a nation attracts more foreign investment, but the costs for common people are huge. Corporate investment focuses on extracting raw materials, displacing subsistence farmers as their farms are eliminated by plantations and cattle ranches, and destroying ancient forests for paper pulp, hardwood, ore and oil. The displaced population is then "free" to move to cities to find jobs in sweatshops. Cheap labor, along with raw materials, are two of the three things third world countries can offer to global



The net result of IMF/World Bank activity is to preserve, although in a different form, traditional colonial relations between countries in the North and South.

Since most or all of a developing nation's exports of raw materials and cheap labor is immediately required to pay back debts owed to first world nations, it's like the raw materials and cheap labor flow to the north for *free*, without cost. The only difference between these economic relationships and that of colonialism is that now, third world countries have "independent" "local" governments that extract and export the raw materials and labor. These resources are no longer merely stolen — they are "sold" on the "free" market, and then debt payments made with the proceeds. There are documents justifying it all.

But it's a rigged market. The very loans creating the debt benefit the capitalist system by building infrastructure to accelerate capitalist growth. The "local" ruling classes in these nations have interests generally aligned with the boards of directors

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capitalism. The third is markets. SAPs open markets to cheap foreign imports of food and manufactured items, destroying local self-sufficient agriculture and production and undermining traditional social organization. Finally, resource extraction required for debt repayment causes disastrous environmental degradation.

traditional colonial relations between countries in the North and South.

Since most or all of a developing nation's exports of raw materials and cheap labor is immediately required to pay back debts owed to first world nations, it's like the raw materials and cheap labor flow to the north for free, without cost. The only difference between these economic relationships and that of colonialism is that now, third world countries have "independent" "local" governments that extract and export the raw materials and labor. These resources are no longer merely stolen — they are "sold" on the "free" market, and then debt payments made with the proceeds. There are documents justifying it all.

But it's a rigged market. The very loans creating the debt benefit the capitalist system by building infrastructure to accelerate capitalist growth. The "local" ruling classes in these nations have interests generally aligned with the boards of directors of the multinationals: increasing "growth", promoting resource extraction, reducing all human activity to service of the technocorporate machine.

When the IMF/World Bank argues that they exist to promote "development" to end poverty, they are speaking about a kind of "tough love" that benefits the few in huge, profound ways and that permits "benefits" like increased urbanism and involvement in the market to "trickle down" to the many.

Anti-Capitalist Convergence

Activists on the East Coast have declared an Anti-Capitalist Convergence to protest and disrupt the IMF/World Bank meeting. Many more moderate forces (labor, mainstream environmental, religious, etc.) will also be on hand. More details will be available as the event approaches.

For more information contact the (anarchist based) Anti-Capitalist Convergence at: wordsarenotenough@hotmail.com

The more liberal option is the 50 Years Is Enough Network: 202-463-2265 wb50years@igc.org, www.50years.org.

Trade ministers will have to fly to the equivalent of the dark side of the moon.

"mega-demos" is a big mistake, leading to a hollow movement that's all tear gas with no base and no local organizing.

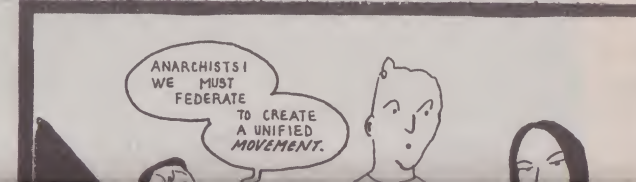
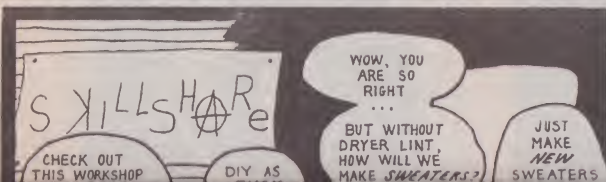
But even as anti-capitalists have sensed the weaknesses of only focusing on Seattle copycat actions, these mega-actions aren't irrelevant. With fewer and fewer chances to confront power on the streets, Washington DC is a rare opportunity, in an inviting location at a critical time. Anti-capitalist forces are more organized in North America than they have been in decades, largely because of the boost from Seattle.

ABCs of the IMF

The IMF and the World Bank, deeply threatened by the millions around the world calling for their abolition, have their propaganda machine turned on high to spread the story that their mission is to "alleviate

projects are completed, the benefits go to sweatshop operators who can now locate in the "developing" nation and reap its cheap labor.

And to top it all off, the loans must be repaid, with interest. But paying off these loans can be difficult, because many projects turn out to be boondoggles — more expensive to build than anticipated and providing more modest "benefits" (i.e. profits.) Just like southern tenant farmers could never escape debt as poor harvests were consumed by high interest, leading to debt passed down through the generations, third world countries that borrowed IMF/World Bank money decades ago are still paying off those loans. When they can't pay enough, the IMF/World Bank kindly offers new loans to cover payments on the old loans, but with conditions called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).



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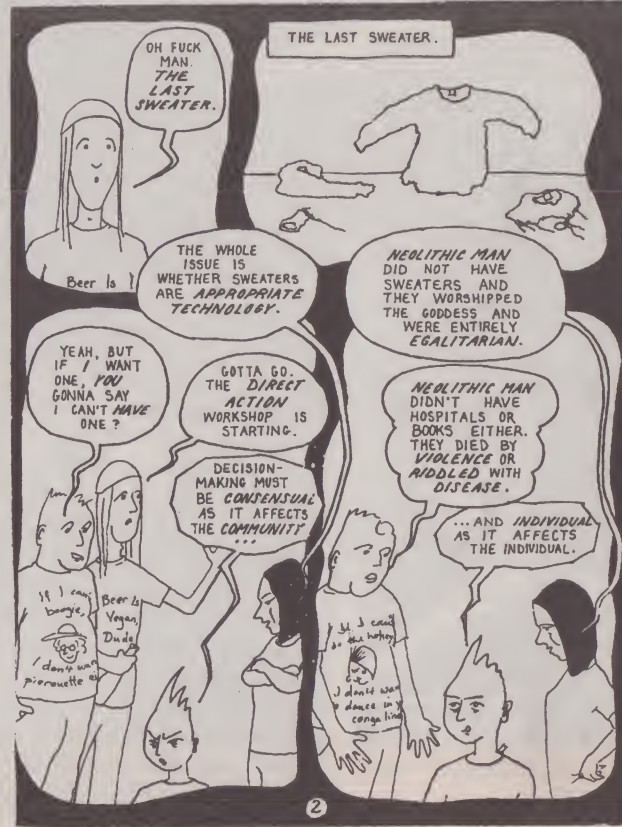
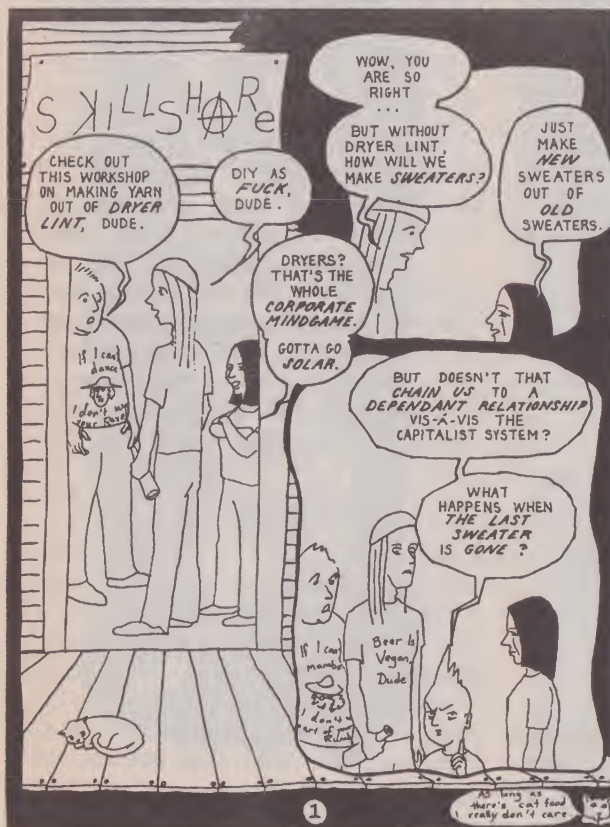
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Action Calendar

Long Haul Infoshop Radical Library

Radical Reading room • Lending library • Archive • Radical Resource Center • Book & Zine Shop

Open Sunday - Thursday, 6 - 9 p.m.

Sunday: Vegan Dinner @ 7:30
Monday: Women only space
Tuesday: Anarchist History Class @ 8 p.m.

3124 Shattuck Ave. • Berkeley, Calif. • 510 540-0751

Long Haul
3124 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94705

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July

July 1 • 2 pm

Wherever You Are global self-awareness action. Get naked wherever you happen to be.

July 4 • 3 pm

Action against Vieques bombing. Golden Gate Bridge, SF. Call (510) 389-5660 for info.

July 4 • 3 pm

Annual TV smashing/flag burning. People's Park, Berkeley

July 6 • 6:30 pm

East Bay Women's Critical Mass bike ride. Meet at Mama Bears, 65th & Telegraph.

July 7 • 16

Earth First Round River Rendezvous. Wyoming, outside of the Tetons. See page 10 for details.

July 11 • 3 pm

International Day of Action against Exxon/Mobil.

July 13 • 6 pm

East Bay Critical Mass bike ride. Meet at Downtown Berkeley BART.

July 14 • 2 pm

Protest globalization and Bush at the Bohemian Grove. Monte Rio, Calif., near Guerneville. Buses will leave from SF: call 415 821-6545. www.actionsf.org

July 20

Third annual Southern Girl Convention. Auburn Alabama. See page 10 for details.

July 20 • 9 pm

Arise Conscious hip hop open mic poetry spoken word. \$3. 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. 510 625-1504.

July 22 • 27

Protest "Tree Biotechnology In the Next Millennium" Conference. Stevenson, WA. ban@tao.ca.

July 27 10 am

Final pre-trial hearing in Judi Bari's lawsuit against the FBI. Claudia Wilkens' courtroom, 1301 Clay Street, Oakland.. Call 707-923-4949 to confirm date.

July 27 • 30

Gathering of anti-authoritarian collectives hosted by Kaos Collective, Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico
<http://www.geocities.com/colectividades2001/>

July 31

Deadline to submit Radical Contact info for inclusion in 2002 Slingshot Organizer. Send info (which must include phone number) to address on page 2.

August

August 6

Anniversary of atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Protests at UC Berkeley and Livermore nuke labs.

August 10

Berkeley Long Haul Infoshop 8th birthday party! 8 pm after Critical Mass, 3124 Shattuck, Berkeley 540-0751.

August 12 • 11 am

Urban habitat bike ride to restored wetlands of Oakland's Arrowhead marsh.. Call 415 255-3233 for start location.

August 14 • 16

Women's and Gurls skill share. Cell Space, 250 Bryant, SF 415 587-4452. See article on page 10 for details.

August 17 • 7 pm

Cafe Anarchista. Food and socializing every 3rd Friday. 3124 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley. 510 540-0751.

August 17 • 9 pm

Arise Conscious hip hop open mic poetry spoken word. \$3. 379 40th St., Oakland. 510 428-2354.

August 19 • 11 am

Native grassland restoration work party, Bernal Hilltop, SF. Meet near southwest road closure of Bernal Heights Blvd. Bring clippers and tools if you can. (415) 282-5066

August 31 - September 3

Permanent Autonomous Zones Conference, Louisville, KY See page 10 for details.

September

September 16 • 4 pm

Slingshot new volunteer meeting. 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley.

September 21 • 7 pm

Cafe Anarchista. Food and socializing. 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley.

September 28 - October 4

IMF/World Bank Protest. Washington, D.C.
wb50years@igc.org (202) 463-2265

September 28 • 6 pm

San Francisco Critical Mass Bike ride. Gather at Justin Herman Plaza, foot of Market St., San Francisco.

October

October 1

First day of Judi Bari's trial against the FBI in Oakland Federal Court, 13th & Clay. Call 707 923-4949 to confirm.

October 5 • 9

Queerupt! 2001 Direct Action and DIY culture jamming (510) 698-2039x3181. See page 10 for details.

October 7 • 9

World Economic Forum protest. Miami, FL See page 10 for details.

October 18

Deadline for issue #73 of Slingshot. Send articles to address on page 2.